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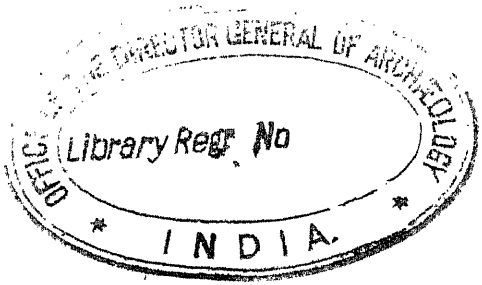
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SECOND SERIES, VOL. XXIX

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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES

OF LONDON

SESSION 1916—1917.

THURSDAY, 23rd NOVEMBER 1916.

Sir ARTHUR JOHN EVANS, Knt., D.Litt., F.R.S., President, in the Chair.

The following gifts were announced, and thanks for the same ordered to be returned to the donors:

From the Author:—The ancient cross shafts at Bewcastle and Ruthwell. By the Rt. Rev. G. F. Browne, V.P.S.A. 4to. Cambridge, 1916.

From the Author:—Catálogo de Azabaches Compostelanos. By G. J. de Osma, Hon. F.S.A. 4to. Madrid, 1916.

From the Victoria and Albert Museum:—List of rubbings of brasses, classified and arranged in chronological order. 8vo. London, 1915.

From the Author:—Carmina jocosa. By J. A. Bradney, C.B., M.A., F.S.A. 8vo. London, 1916.

From the Author:—Notes on the bishopric of Worcester, 1547-59. By James Davenport, M.A., F.S.A. 8vo. Worcester, 1916.

From the Author:—Silver counters of the seventeenth century. By Helen Farquhar. 8vo. London, 1916.

From the Author:—The St. Nicholas chambered tumulus, Glamorgan. By John Ward, F.S.A. 8vo. n. p. 1916.

From the Author:—Baildon and the Baildons. Part X. By W. Paley Baildon, F.S.A. 4to. n. p., n. d.

From Mrs. C. A. Tennant, in memory of her husband the late C. A. Tennant, Esq., F.S.A.:
1. Armorial universel. By J. d'Eschavannes. 8vo. Paris, 1844.
2. The heraldry of crests. 8vo. London, 1829.

From Emery Walker, Esq., F.S.A. :—Original impression of the seal of John Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk : d. 1461.

From the Burlington Fine Arts Club :—Forty-one plaster impressions from seal matrices exhibited at the exhibition of British Heraldic Art, 1916.

From E. Thurlow Leeds, Esq., M.A., F.S.A. :—Twenty plaster impressions from seal matrices preserved in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

Sir MARTIN CONWAY, M.A., F.S.A., read the following paper on Early Christian representations of the Baptism of Christ:

One day, some years ago, when Dr. Salomon Reinach was kindly showing me various objects of special interest in his wonderful museum in the Château of Saint-Germain-en-Laye, he called my attention to a sculptured representation of the Baptism of Christ on one end of the cast of a fifth-century sarcophagus, the original of which at Arles came out of the catacombs of Saint-Honorat. He pointed out that, while John the Baptist is shown as a bearded middle-aged man, Christ is a small child; and he said that this was an indication of the existence in those early days of some account of the Baptism, differing from that in the synoptic gospels, but that no written record of it survives. My attention having been thus called to this type of baptism, I have kept my eyes open ever since for more examples, and in process of time I have been led to conclude that so far from this being an exceptional Early Christian type, it was normal in the Christian East down to the sixth century.

The Baptism of Christ was not a favourite or common subject with artists of the first six centuries. It occurs sporadically. Professor Strzygowski devoted a volume [1] to the development and changes of the typical arrangement, but that was a good many years ago, and his observations can be supplemented largely. The article in Dom Cabrol's Dictionary [2] contains completer materials for the early period. The earliest known picture of the Baptism is a wall-painting of late first- or early second-century date, in the Crypt of Lucina in the Catacomb of Callixtus (fig. 1). It is unique in that it, and I think it alone for four centuries, shows both Christ and the Baptist as young men. The rite has been completed. Christ is stepping up out of the Jordan; St. John grasps his arm to help him, and the dove is hovering overhead. It is an illustration of the gospel narrative as generally understood, according to which Christ was about thirty years old, of the same age as John the Baptist, and the dove appeared at the moment when the newly baptized was 'coming up out of the water'.

If the actual text of the accounts in St. Matthew (iii, 13–17),

[1] Strzygowski, *Iconographie der Taufe Christi.*
[2] Cabrol et Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie.*

St. Mark (i, 9–11), and St. Luke (iii, 21, 22) be compared it will be found that all three are in close agreement and all lead up immediately to the story of the Temptation, except that in St. Luke there is interposed the separate document concerning the genealogy, the corresponding document being inserted elsewhere by St. Matthew and not inserted at all by St. Mark. Now the statement that Christ was thirty years old is a part of this genealogical document, not of the Baptism story; and, as that document might have been inserted anywhere with as much propriety as where we find it, it may likewise be removed. If it is removed, then the accounts given by St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke are practically identical, and none of them gives any indication of Christ's age at the time of the Baptism.



Fig. 1.

Turning now to known representations of the Baptism, the next in date are two wall-paintings in the same catacomb in the neighbouring Chapel of the Sacraments. They may be dated early in the third century, and in both the baptized is a child. It has been contended that they merely depict the rite of baptism, not the Baptism of Christ. This was a possible explanation as long as they were thought of as exceptional; but when it can be shown that so far from being exceptional the type is the normal one of its period, the explanation is no longer required.[1] It should, however, be observed that baptisms other than that of Christ were represented at this time, an example being a fragment of intaglio glass of about the year 400 which was dug up in Rome near the Baths of Diocletian.[2] The inscriptions on it relate to the baptism of a girl named Alba in the presence of a man named Mirax. Here the dove appears, with a sprig in its beak, and

[1] Garrucci, *Storia dell' Arte Crist.*, no. 7; Cabrol, fig. 1289.
[2] *Bull. Arch. crist.*, 1876, pl. i, p. 7.

a flood of 'grace' descends from heaven out of an inverted pot. Other instances of the appearance of a dove at an ordinary baptism will be cited later.

In the fourth and two succeeding centuries Baptisms of Christ become commoner, but now in every case in the East Christ is certainly represented as a child or lad. The universality of this treatment seems to imply that the genealogy in St. Luke had not yet definitely taken its place at the point in the text where it is now found. In the absence of St. Luke's plain statement, as we now have it, artists would naturally depict the Baptism of Christ as occurring at the age when young people were usually baptized in his own day. In the next group of baptisms with which we have to deal the figures introduced are those of the Baptist and the child Christ only, the dove appearing overhead at the moment of baptism. Baptisms of this type occur on the following:

A wall-painting of the fourth century in the Catacomb of Peter and Marcellinus.[1]

A sarcophagus found on the site of S. M. Antiqua at Rome,[2] of about A.D. 300–50.

The cover of a sarcophagus in the Lateran,[3] fourth century.

A sarcophagus fragment in the Lateran, no. 152 *a*,[4] fourth century.

An arcaded sarcophagus at Madrid,[5] fourth century.

An ivory casket-panel from Werden in the Victoria and Albert Museum. It has the figure of a river-god added to personify the Jordan.[6]

A compartment of a five-panel leaf of an ivory diptych fixed in the binding of a manuscript in Milan Cathedral (fig. 2).

A compartment, in Berlin KFM., formerly part of a similar diptych.[7]

A similar fragment at Oxford.[8]

A similar fragment at Amiens.[9]

A small bronze pendant inlaid with lead in Berlin KFM. (Cat. no. 827).

In all these examples, with one exception, the river Jordan appears like a fountain pouring down, in or at the edge of which

[1] Cabrol, fig. 1290.
[2] *Bull. Arch. crist.*, 1901, p. 205, pl. 6.
[3] Garr., pl. 316, fig. 1.
[4] *Bull. Arch. crist.*, 1901, p. 207.
[5] Garr., pl. 341, fig. 3.
[6] This and the four following are linked together by the peculiar bent staff in the hand of the Baptist in all five. Garr., pl. 447, fig. 3.
[7] Strzygowski, *Klein-Asien*, fig. 142.
[8] Cabrol, fig. 1299.
[9] G. Stuhlfauth, *Die altchrist. Elfenbein-Plastik*, pl. 4; Cabrol, fig. 1300.

Christ stands. This appears to be the explanation of the peculiar lines and forms running down the left side of the little Berlin bronze. The arcaded sarcophagus at Madrid is of a type recognized as Levantine. The river-god, of Nile type, marks the Werden ivory as Alexandrian. The five-panel diptychs are all Eastern—Alexandrian or Levantine—so that all the ivories above mentioned are of Eastern provenance. The little Berlin bronze probably came from Egypt. With the exception, therefore, of the Roman painting and the sarcophagi of uncertain provenance, these objects appear to be of Eastern origin and to date from the fourth and fifth centuries.



Fig. 2.

The baptismal group is increased by the addition of another figure on four more sarcophagi:

Arles[1] (fig. 3).

Arles, a fragment,[2] which, as Strzygowski pointed out, has been wrongly attached to the broken half of a Moses striking the rock.

Ancona.[3]

An arcaded sarcophagus, formerly at Soissons, published by Mabillon.[4]

On the Ancona and one of the Arles examples the attendant holds a scroll and is probably intended for a prophet. Mabillon's example is exceptional, for in it the third person stands behind the Baptist and lays his hand upon the other's arm. At Ancona the figures are not placed on any foreground or against any background; but in the other three examples the Jordan is represented, as in the preceding group, by what looks like a fountain pouring down. This group may be dated not later than the fifth century.

All these are probably Levantine works. The commercial con-

[1] Le Blant, pl. 14, 15.
[2] Garr., pl. 398, fig. 9.
[3] Garr., pl. 326, fig. 1.
[4] *Ann. ord. S. Benedicti*, 1739, p. 574, and Str., pl. I, fig. 7.

nexion between Arles and Syria was very close. As early as A. D. 200 the shippers of Arles had an office at Beyrût, while Arles itself was full of Levantine merchants as long as security for trade was maintained in the Mediterranean. This is how it came to pass that so many sculptured sarcophagi from Syria were imported into the south of France in the fifth century. In this connexion we may recall the fact that the Ile Sainte-Marguerite, one of the Lérins islets, was named after St. Margaret of Antioch, while, from the fourth century on, oriental monks settled in considerable



Fig. 3.

numbers on the islands fringing the south French coast as far along as the modern Hyères.

In the next group the attendant is replaced by an angel, and the river is an approximately level piece of water, that is to say it does not appear to pour down as in the two preceding groups. The angel's duty is to hold the garment which Christ is to put on when he comes up out of the water. This group consists of the following objects:

A number of bronze censers from Palestine, of which many examples are known. There are two in the British Museum, and five at Berlin.

A small limestone encolpion from Smyrna in the Berlin KFM. (Cat. no. 1149).

An embossed bronze fragment from Pergamon in Berlin KFM.[1]

One of seven subjects in relief on one of the Palestinian ampullae in Monza Cathedral Treasury.

[1] *Amtl. Ber.*, Nov. 1913, fig. 22.

A broken ivory panel in the British Museum. Here a river-god is introduced, emblematic of the Jordan.[1]

An ivory casket-panel in the British Museum.[2]

The enamelled cross in the Vatican from the Sancta Sanctorum Treasure.[3]

Another Palestinian ampulla in Berlin KFM.[4] (fig. 4) and one of the ivory panels of the Ravenna throne are of similar type, but with two attendant angels instead of one. The latter, like the British Museum ivory in the above list, contains a figure of a river-god.



Fig. 4.

The oriental origin of all the foregoing can scarcely be disputed. Some of them date from the fifth century, others from the sixth, while the Palestinian censers continued to be produced perhaps as late as the seventh century, though probably cast from models of the sixth. The second and third objects in the above list were doubtless made in Asia Minor, but the ampullae, like the censers, are Palestinian. It will be remembered that the purpose of the ampullae was for sale to pilgrims, who carried away in them samples of sacred oil from the lamps burning in the churches of repute in the Holy Land. Those on which the Baptism is depicted will have been sold at the church, commemorative of the Baptism, built on the banks of the Jordan as early as the fourth century.

[1] Graeven, no. 28.
[2] Graeven, no. 22.
[3] *Mon. Piot*, 1907, pl. 6.
[4] *Amtl. Ber.*, Nov. 1913.

Ainalow[1] has shown that these representations seem to have corresponded in composition with mosaics of the same subjects which were on the walls of the churches. We may therefore conclude that if there was (as is most probable) an important painting or mosaic of the Baptism in the Baptism Church, it was composed of similar figures in like arrangement to those on the Berlin ampulla. It is certain, at any rate, that Christ would not have been depicted as a child at the time of his baptism, on an object sold to pilgrims at the very church of the Baptism itself, if that had not been the accepted treatment at the time, that is to say in the fifth and sixth centuries. The ivory panel in the Ravenna throne and that in the British Museum differ only in that there are two angels in the former and one in the latter, a difference likewise observable in the two ampullae. The Ravenna throne is regarded as of Alexandrian workmanship and the British Museum panel must be of like origin. As for the casket-panel in ivory in the same museum, it is evident that the carver blundered over it. He made the Baptist stand looking on and blessing whilst the actual baptizing was done by the angel. When his mistake was pointed out to him he tried to reverse the meaning of the two figures by carving wings on to the aged and bearded St. John and scratching a beard on the smooth cheeks of the angel. The result is far from admirable.

We thus reach the beautiful enamelled cross of the Sancta Sanctorum, which is called Byzantine and attributed to the sixth century (fig. 5). As far as the Baptism upon it is concerned, it might as well, or even better, belong to the fifth; later than the sixth it cannot be. We possess no known enamels made at Byzantium at that early date, and but one example of a Baptism made at Byzantium at all. This is the sculptured drum of a column, which was found in Constantinople and is now in the museum there[2]: as the figure of Christ has lost its head his age is doubtful, but the body appears to be that of a man rather than a child. It is therefore likely that the enamelled cross was of Alexandrian or Syrian rather than of local Byzantine origin.

Three peculiar examples of the Baptism must be noted; two of them come from the neighbourhood of Aquileia. The first is a silver spoon, said to have been enamelled. It was found with several others at Canziano in the year 1792, and all have disappeared; the designs decorating the interior of the bowls may be seen in Garrucci's plate.[3] Here a boy being baptized is seated in a basin and the dove hovers overhead. An inscribed and engraved stone from Aquileia itself was published

[1] *Die hellenist. Grundlagen der byz. Kunst*, 1900, p. 168.
[2] *Byz. Zeits.*, 1892, pl. 2. [3] 462, fig. 8.

by De Rossi[1] in which the child stands in a hemispherical bowl between two men, each of whom stretches out his right hand toward him. Overhead is the dove, within a starry circle from which a stream of grace pours down over the neophyte. I believe neither of these compositions is intended to represent the Baptism of Christ. In the Victoria and Albert Museum, however, there is an ivory plaque divided into two compartments, the upper containing the Ascension, the lower the Baptism of Christ. It is rude work, ascribed by Goldschmid



Fig. 5.

to the seventh or eighth century. The plaque was re-used by a Carlovingian artist, who carved on the back of it an Entry into Jerusalem and a Supper at Simon's. The Baptism is rude work and of unusual design. Christ, who is evidently quite young, is waist deep in a square vessel sunk into the ground. The Baptist, bending over, is holding him with his left hand and baptizing with his right. There is no dove, but there is an attendant angel standing on the right. The remainder of the space is filled by two trees, unless one of them is intended for a dove, which hardly seems possible. This inaccurate rendering of the older type is rude work by some belated provincial artist.

The first appearance of the orthodox type of baptism, in which Christ is represented as a bearded man, is in the Rabula Bible of A.D. 586, a Syrian manuscript.[2] He is

[1] *Bull. Arch. crist.*, 1876, pl. 1, p. 7.
[2] Str., pl. ii, fig. 9.

thus again depicted in a wall-painting, likewise of the sixth century, in the Catacomb of Ponziano in Rome.[1] He is bearded in a Baptism wall-painting of the sixth century at Bawit in Egypt, while in the central medallion-mosaics in the two baptisteries at Ravenna the figure of Christ is full-grown. The mosaic in the Orthodox Baptistery dates from the middle or latter part of the fifth century. The Baptism medallion in the Arian Baptistery is an eighth-century replacement. Perhaps this was made because the original mosaic showed Christ in childhood, a type no longer regarded as correct. Thus, by the sixth century the later type had taken root in various parts of Christendom, and the Apocryphal type was doomed and probably already beginning to be regarded as unorthodox. It may have lingered on later in Palestine than in the West, where it never seems to have taken firm root, the bulk of the known Western examples having been imported from the East.

After the sixth century for six hundred years there is, so far as I know, no representation of Christ being baptized as a child, but three such representations may be cited which have been dated to the twelfth century. One is on an ivory panel of the Salerno *paliotto*, otherwise of the Byzantine type. Here Christ seems to be quite young, though a doubt is possible. The second was a miniature in a Bible burnt with the Turin library; a copy of it was published by Paciandi and has been reproduced by Strzygowski.[2] In it Christ was shown standing in a font in the Jordan. The third is on an ivory at Berlin,[3] attributed to the twelfth century. All three are quite exceptional and perhaps almost accidental variations of the established type. None of them can be regarded as an intentional revival of the earlier unorthodox treatment.[4]

Bishop Browne said that St. Mark showed clearly that the Baptist had been preaching and baptizing for some time before the baptism of Jesus. As they were within a few months of the same age, Jesus must have been baptized in manhood. There was no sign of a later insertion of the genealogy in St. Luke. The genealogy naturally followed the account of the baptism, being due to the voice, 'This is my beloved Son'. The genealogy in St. Luke was completely different from that in St. Matthew, which began with Abraham and went from father to son down to 'Joseph, the husband of Mary'. This would not have linked on

[1] Garr., pl. 86, fig. 3.
[2] Pl. xi, fig. 6, and p. 46.
[3] Str. xiii. 5.
[4] A gold medallion from Cyprus in the possession of Professor Strzygowski shows the Baptism with two attendant angels, but I have seen no reproduction of it.

with the phrase, 'the beloved Son'. St. Luke's genealogy went from son to father, beginning with 'being, as was supposed, the son of Joseph', and ending with the key-words, 'which was the Son of God'. Very curiously, Codex Bezae completely altered the words of the voice, giving them as 'this day have I begotten thee', apparently to make the connexion with the genealogy closer. Sir Martin would note that the Baptist was usually made much older than his age, as the Christ was made younger.

The PRESIDENT cited the representation of the Baptism on a stoup [1] found in an Anglo-Saxon grave at Long Wittenham, Berks., where one figure had a halo and the other was on a lower level, with what seemed to be feathers over his head. The idea of the Holy Spirit descending in the form of a dove and filling the personage concerned with divinity was inherited from the old Aegean world. In Crete the divinity was brought down by a ritual of some kind, and settled on the votary's head or hovered in the air. Whether human or not before, the subject was by that act possessed with divinity. It was remarkable that many features of earlier religion were renewed in later times, but nothing was more striking than the descent of the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove.

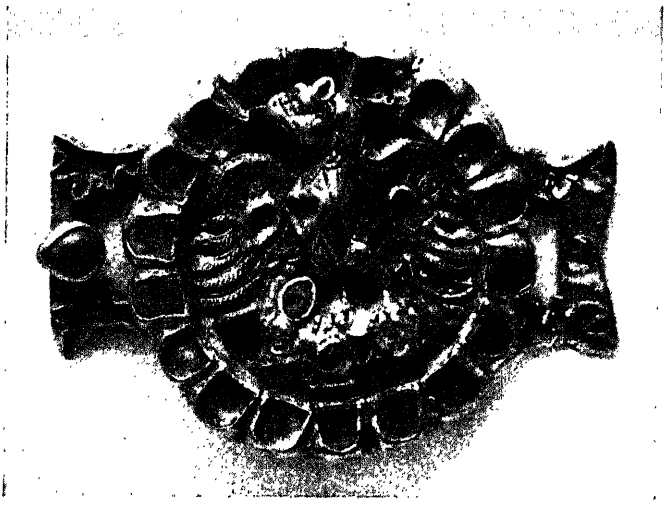
Sir MARTIN CONWAY also read the following paper on a gold ornament in the J. P. Morgan Collection:

The photograph of this ornament has been kindly sent to me by Mr. Russell A. Plimpton, of the New York Metropolitan Museum, where the original is at present exhibited. He tells me that its back is plain and gives no clue to its use. It is therefore not a brooch, as at a first glance one might imagine. The thing is made of gold and set with stones, of which only seven now remain. They are described as 'hard, resembling lava, and of a greenish-gray putty color'. The design consists of an eagle with displayed wings, surrounded by or framed within a circular wreath, beyond which is a projection on either hand, with a curious sort of flame- or feather-edged ornament above and below. At the left end there is a stone mounted on the top of a projection, a kind of stud, and there was another to correspond on the right end, but this has been broken off. These studs probably served to secure the ends of a strap or for some such purpose.

The inlaid stones are of two shapes—thumb-nail and pear-shaped. The thumb-nails are set in regular succession round the wreath. They are cemented into hollows beaten up to hold and frame them, not held by ribbons of metal soldered on, as was the

[1] *Archaeologia*, xxxviii, pl. xvii, p. 350.

usual method of goldsmiths in Roman imperial and later days. Such thumb-nail stones are characteristically Scythian and may be noted on a gold roundel or boss in the Berlin KFM., found at Zubov's farm (South Russia), which dates from about the last century B.C.[1] Similar settings are found later.[2] Perhaps the row of thumb-nail forms may be a degraded egg-and-dart moulding. Like forms are found, though by a totally independent degradation, upon some Anglo-Saxon saucer brooches.[3] Thumb-nail



GOLD ORNAMENT IN THE J. P. MORGAN COLLECTION (½).

stones appear on objects in the Novotcherkassk find which are of the second or third century A.D., the approximate date of the Morgan jewel. Another markedly Scythian feature is the irregular setting of the smaller pear-shaped stones on the breast and wings of the bird and casually below him, without any relation to the rest of the design. This is quite a common feature on Scythian gold ornaments, and can likewise be illustrated by comparison with objects from Novotcherkassk on the Don.

Displayed eagles by Scythian goldsmiths are well known. I might mention one, cut out of gold plate and embossed, which came from Kertch,[4] or one from Akhtanizovka, both of about

[1] Berlin KFM., *Amtl. Ber.*, Dec. 1913, fig. 61.
[2] Compare the scent bottle from Novotcherkassk in Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, figs. 141, 142.
[3] Baldwin Brown, *Arts in Early England*, pl. 58.
[4] *Comptes rendus*, 1874.

the first century A.D. The famous and oft-reproduced eagle of about the fourth or fifth century, from Siberia,[1] may also be mentioned; but none of these bear more than a distant resemblance to the Morgan bird. That is, in fact, a barbarous imitation of a Roman type of eagle within a wreath, the best-known example of which is the splendid Trajanic bas-relief in the church of the SS. Apostoli at Rome. The artist has misunderstood the design, and, instead of spreading the wings beyond the wreath, he has included them within it and replaced the feathered ends by the two curious outstanding ornaments which carry the studs and are adorned above and below by the irregular decorations which may be supposed dimly to represent feathers. I do not remember any instance of a Roman eagle framed within a wreath in which the wings do not extend beyond the wreath on both sides. Hence if this object is a barbarian imitation of such a design the curious extensions on both sides must be imitations of the wings.

The contained eagle within the wreath may be compared with a late-Roman, approximately contemporary gold eagle ornament which is in Stockholm Museum.[2] There the displayed wings are vertical, and the feathers, if indicated, would lie up and down, not, as in the Scythian example, to right and left. The body of the Stockholm eagle is covered with filigree, and there is a stone set within a ribbon setting upon his breast and another on each wing. The contrast in the method of setting the stones is noticeable, and it is evident enough that the Scythian artist was not imitating this type but the other already described. The Scythian example may perhaps be of earlier date than that at Stockholm, and may have been made in the second century A.D., but I think that the third century is a more probable date for both objects.

Sir Hercules Read had seen and handled the object in question but had given it no special attention. He agreed with the general thesis, but thought the artist never intended to put the wings outside the circle. The projections were not mistakes, but of structural value, as was clear from a large number of eastern European or Asiatic specimens. The type, perhaps used as a buckle, was quite common in China and Siberia, and invariably had those square open projections. The date would be roughly 300 B.C.

Sir Martin Conway also read the following paper on a late Romanesque gold ornament:

The curious object to which attention is here invited has

[1] Photos in Hirth's *Formenschatz*, 1910, no. 1.
[2] Published by Montelius in *Kulturgeschichte Schwedens*, 1906, p. 241.

belonged to the Victoria and Albert Museum since 1872, when it was acquired from Mr. Webb. Its previous history is unknown. I owe the opportunity of studying it to the kindness of Mr. W. W. Watts, who showed it to me, and gave me the photograph of it here reproduced.

It is apparently of pure gold, rather thin, and measures in largest diameter 4·4 in., in height just half that amount, whilst the diameter of the top circle is 1 in.

There can be little doubt that it is a breast ornament, to be hung from a ribbon passed round the neck, the two loops for suspension being soldered near the edge at the back, about ½ in. apart. The well-known twelfth-century sculptured figure of the Queen of Sheba, which came from a portal at Corbeil and is now in the church of St. Denis, is represented as wearing such an ornament.

The lowest and largest member of this pendant consists of a ring of sixteen lobes. In eight of them the low cylindrical settings remain which once held jewels. Between each pair of these is an embossed gold ornament, alternately a very human-looking face, which the surrounding mane shows to have been intended for a lion's, and a roughly hemispherical boss, decorated with a radiating curved design. Within and above this ring comes a sloping strip, bearing eight repoussé lions passant, with the ground cut away in open-work. Between each pair of these is a niche filled alternately with the head and mane of a lion beaten up in the round out of thin gold plate (most of them gone), and a cylindrical setting which once held a stone. Above this band comes a small gallery of twisted filigree arcading. This is surmounted by another sloping band, interrupted by four niches larger than those below, each containing a correspondingly larger lion's head and mane beaten up out of thin gold. The flat spaces between the niches are decorated with some admirably engraved beasts and foliation, emphasized by a little open-work. Two of these beasts are lions, the other two winged dragons of a sort, one of them with no visible head. A smaller gallery of filigree arcading above this sloping band sustains the roundel of the summit. This must originally have framed a flat crystal through which the repoussé design that still exists was beheld. This design shows St. Eloi seated before an anvil and hammering at a long, straight object, enlarged at the end, which I think Colonel Lyons, to whom I showed it, was right in identifying as the leg of a horse. On the flat background are three little stars. The saint wears on his head a curious loose-folded cloth as a hood. The object has suffered some very rough treatment, all the jewels having been prised out and many a severe dent made in the repoussé work. The underside is plain but for a little simple

To face page 14



LATE ROMANESQUE GOLD ORNAMENT: VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM ($\frac{1}{1}$)

filigree with spirals, soldered on behind the sixteen outer circles.

Though I can point to but few examples of a similar ornament, they range over many centuries. The earliest is a gold boss, set and inlaid with garnets, belonging to the second find of treasure at Szilagy-Somlyo now in Buda-Pesth Museum.[1] It may be dated to about the year 400 A.D. Here the lower rim is continuous, but set with cabochon gems alternating with repoussé beasts. A single sloping band supports the summit ring, which has a large pearl in the centre, surrounded by cloisonné garnets. The sloping band is embossed with beasts passant, dimly foreshadowing the decoration of our pendant. Those who are familiar with the golden treasures of this early period will not fail to recognize the survival of Scythian traditions in this barbarous but striking ornament.

I must leap over a period of 600 years before meeting with another object of similar purpose and kind. This is the superb breast ornament in gold and jewels which belonged to the Empress Gisela, and is one of the treasures fortunately discovered at Mayence in 1880, now in the Berlin Museum.[2]

The date assigned to this treasure is about 1025. It may have been made in an Othonian Court workshop, but I am not convinced that the craftsmen employed were Germans. In character of design and quality of handling the work is Byzantine, and it is pure assumption that the Byzantine goldsmiths who introduced the style into Germany were able in little more than one generation to educate native artificers up to such a degree of expertness.

In Gisela's pendant the lower and outer rim consists of sixteen circular-domed ornaments, alternately pearls set in filigree and large precious stones. Above this, as in the London example, rises a gallery of filigree arcading, then a decorated slope surmounted by a top member including a second and smaller band of filigree, though otherwise the summit decoration is more like the Szilagy-Somlyo boss than that of the London jewel, the ring of cloisonné garnets being replaced by enamel of excellent quality. An adjustment at the back shows that Gisela's ornament was intended for suspension. Its decorative scheme consists of an elaborate composition of precious stones and filigree, but the details do not concern us.

The well-known Towneley brooch in the British Museum,[3] which likewise is dated to the eleventh century, may be brought into the comparison. Its outer rim consists of sixteen circular ornaments

[1] Reproduced in Von Pulsky, *Die Goldfunde von S.S.*

[2] O. von Falke, *Der Mainzer Goldschmuck der Kaiserin Gisela*, Berlin, 1913.

[3] *Proceedings*, xx. 65 and pl.

which are alternately flat enamels and domed settings of pearls. Within comes a rising band decorated with filigree and pearls, framing the enamelled roundel which occupies the centre.

It is evident that the London pendant is of later date than any of these, and can scarcely be placed earlier than the first years of the thirteenth century. If the figure of St. Eloi had been better preserved, it would have afforded clearer indications of date and locality than can easily be derived from it in its present condition. The design of the saint recalls the craft illustrations in such stained-glass windows as those at Chartres. The row of lions permits me to bring into comparison the magnificent thirteenth-century setting of the too-little-known onyx of Schaffhausen.[1] This glorious cameo probably belonged to Charles the Bold, and was part of the loot which the Swiss won at the battle of Grandson. The onyx was wrought about the time of Vespasian, and depicts a figure of peace. It was probably set when Louis II of Frohburg married Gertrude of Hapsburg, father's sister to Rudolph, but it is thought that the gem may have been brought from Constantinople by Ortlieb, bishop of Bâle, who was of Frohburg descent and accompanied the Second Crusade. The setting, which alone concerns us, consists of three rows of ornament, one within but not much above the other. In the outer row, between each pair of mounted stones, is a lion. In the next ring the interposed emblems are eagles, whilst in the inner ring their place is taken by flowers. The lions in this case are emblems of Hapsburg, as the eagles of Frohburg. It is probable that in our jewel also the lions have some heraldic significance. In style they are a long way on the road to Gothic, otherwise all the forms employed in our pendant are Romanesque. It is of course possible, though highly improbable, that the St. Eloi medallion may be later than the rest, but no such assumption is here necessary. The earlier examples, few as they are, which I have been able to cite, are all German, and we can scarcely seek for a place of origin of our pendant west of the Rhine, or, at any rate, of the Meuse. The pendant worn by the Corbeil queen evidently belongs to a school of design quite unconnected with that from which the London jewel derived its forms.

Col. Croft Lyons, on seeing the hammer and anvil, had been led to identify the long object as a horse's leg, as all were attributes of St. Eloi.

Sir Hercules Read welcomed the lavish display of illustrations and lantern-slides, and thought it would be a good plan to collect

[1] Reproduced in colour in *Der Onyx von Schaffhausen: Jubiläums-Schrift des hist. antiq. Vereins zu Schaffhausen.* Zürich, n. d.

all known specimens of the type for comparison and reference. Such brooches were not uncommon, but were seldom seen on such a magnificent scale; and as a class they belonged to the ninth–eleventh centuries. A notable detail of the South Kensington piece was the arcading of twisted wire, which was constantly found in finger-rings. He agreed it was a Romanesque feature, but in dating such objects the latest features were decisive.

The PRESIDENT observed a certain parallelism in the Gotland brooches, and thought some connexion might possibly be traced between the two groups, which had high bosses and the same ornamental qualities.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for these communications.

THURSDAY, 30th NOVEMBER 1916.

WILLIAM PAGE, Esq., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The following gifts were announced, and thanks for the same ordered to be returned to the donors:

From the Author:—Monumental effigies in Somerset. Part I. By A. C. Fryer, Ph.D., F.S.A. 8vo. n. p. 1915.

From Col. Ottley Perry, F.S.A.:—The accuracy of the Domesday land measures in Middlesex, and their Roman origin. By Montagu Sharpe. 8vo. Brentford, 1914.

From the Author:—The Lady Margaret Beaufort and King Henry VII. By the Rev. W. Done Bushell, F.S.A. 8vo. n. p. 1916.

From the Author:—Sussex in the Great Civil War and the Interregnum 1642-60. By C. Thomas-Stanford, F.S.A. 8vo. London, 1910.

Sir HERCULES READ, LL.D., F.B.A., Vice-President, read the following paper on a box of coin weights in the British Museum, made for Henry Somerset, fifth earl of Worcester, who died in 1646:

Boxes of coin weights are of fairly common occurrence in museums and in the hands of dealers in antiquities. They range, or at any rate are common, from the first half of the seventeenth century for about a hundred years or more, and it is very probable that a study of the various types would enable any one to allocate

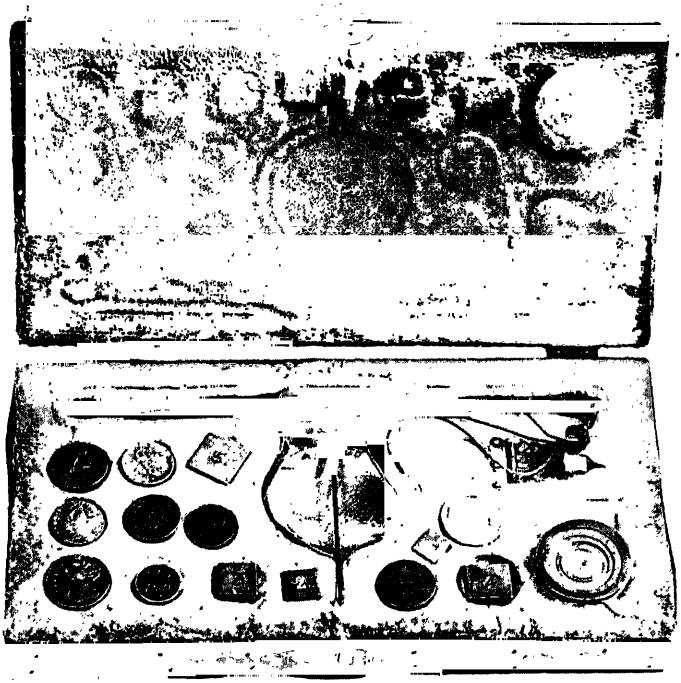
each type to its period, where no better indication exists on the box itself. Such an examination might well provide first-hand evidence with regard to matters of currency in Europe for a period of something like a couple of centuries, and in this way be of use in the solution of problems of a wider range than those that confront the simple collector. For instance, the box in question this evening contains weights for dealing with a variety of coins—guineas, angels, crowns, pistoles, and moidores. If these weights were all contemporary with the case (which they are not), we should then possess a list of the principal coins, foreign or English, which were in general circulation at the time the box was made, a fact interesting in itself. For these and other reasons it seems to me that these cases of weights would repay study.

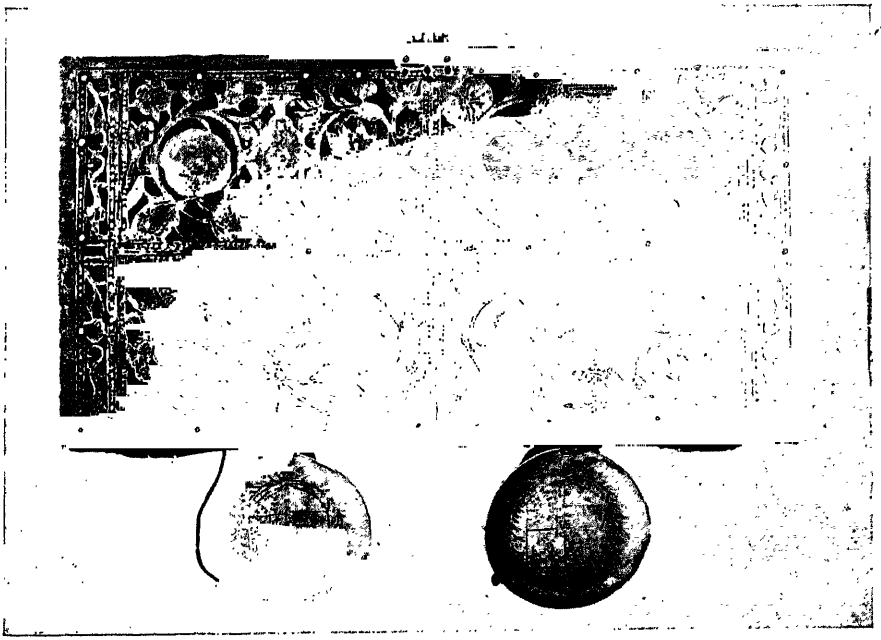
It must not, however, be thought that nothing has been done towards an understanding of the subject. Our Fellow Mr. L. A. Lawrence has produced a very interesting little monograph on these weights, for which I am at this moment most grateful, as it deals with the period in which the box I am dealing with is comprised.[1] As a coin collector he has naturally gone to the coin authorities and has gathered together a mass of interesting detail. He is well aware, as indeed I am also, that coin weights go back to much earlier times than either he or I deal with. Some of the early Italian and other Continental weights of the fifteenth century compete with contemporary medals in their artistic qualities with no small success. But these do not appear in England for reasons not hard to divine, and they form a class both earlier and otherwise remote from our subject this evening.

This subject is the stereotyped boxes of coin weights, now but seldom found from an earlier date than the early seventeenth century.

The majority of them are of Continental make, very frequently Dutch—the wooden case is usually neatly and even elegantly made, and contains a balance and a variety of weights of much the same kind as that now before us. This case, given to the Museum in 1890 by Sir A. Wollaston Franks, is a flat wooden box, 7·8 in. long by 4·1 in. wide, the inside lined with white plush, the outside covered with red velvet, over which are laid, on lid and sides, plates of pierced and engraved silver, and it is provided with a lock and key. The silver mounts around the sides are engraved to represent monsters and flowers; the cover is divided into four oblong panels, in each of which is a vase with lion-handles from which spring floral scrolls, roses, pinks, etc. The piercing and engraving of these accessories recall the watch-

[1] Coin Weights, by L. A. Lawrence, in *The British Numismatic Journal*, vol. vi, 1910.





BOX OF COIN WEIGHTS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM : OPEN AND CLOSED $(\frac{1}{2})$

cases of the period, of which the productions of Edward East, watchmaker to Charles I, are typical.

The contents of the box are:

1. A balance with steel beam and green cords suspending the pans, which are of silver. In each is engraved a quarterly coat under an earl's coronet, viz. 1. 4. England within a border compony, *Somerset.* 2. per pale az & gu, 3 lions rampant arg, *Herbert.* 3. Arg a fess gu, a canton of the last, *Woodvile.*
2. A nest of six cup-shaped weights ranging from 1 oz. Troy downwards in the usual fashion. On the bases of the two larger are stamped the London date letter V for 1637 and a lion passant. These and all the other weights are of silver.
3. Five square weights, plain, each stamped with a numeral 1 to 5, indicating the number of pennyweights.
4. Five pieces of foil, oblong, stamped with circles, two, three, four, and six (grains), the remaining piece being stamped ½. All but the last bear also the lion passant of the Goldsmiths' Company. This stamp is not the same as appears on the cup weight no. 2, but is later in style.

The foregoing are, of course, not strictly coin weights, but are designed as remedies to correct the deficiencies of the coins weighed.

5. Circular weight. *Obv.*, bust of James I crowned; legend I · R · M · BRIT. *Rev.*, crown over Vs · VID. (Lawrence, pl. i, 11.) Wt. 27 gr.
6. Circular weight for an angel. *Obv.*, St. Michael. *Rev.*, $\cdot \frac{X}{S} \cdot$. Wt. 56 gr. The last issue of the angel for currency was in 1635.
7. Circular weight. *Obv.*, bust of Queen Anne, legend, ANNA DEI GRATIA. *Rev.*, crown and crossed sceptres I/GVINEA/W. (Lawrence, pl. ii, 4.) Wt. 126 gr.
8. Circular weight. *Obv.*, similar bust and legend. *Rev.*, similar, but with ½ (reversed) /GVINEA/W. (Lawrence, ii. 3.) Wt. 56 gr.
9. Circular weight. *Obv.*, cross with quatrefoils between the limbs. *Rev.*, I/MOIDOR/W. Wt. 165 gr.
10. Circular weight. *Obv.*, similar. *Rev.*, ½/MOIDOR/W. Wt. 80 gr.
11. Circular weight. *Obv.*, bust to r. of Louis XIV; legend +LVD · XIIII · D · G · FR · ET · NA · REX. *Rev.*, three fleurs-de-lis and I/PISTOL/W. Wt. 96 gr.
12. Circular weight. *Obv.*, bust as foregoing; legend +LVD · XIIII · D · G · FR · ETN · REX. *Rev.*, three fleurs-de-lis and ½/PISTOL/W. Wt. 50 gr.

13. Circular weight; rudely engraved on one face, *18 Shill.* Wt. 105 gr.
14. Circular weight, similar, with *9 Shill.* Wt. 46 gr.

Of these, no. 5 was for the crown or ¼ unite of James I, which, after 1612, was of the value of *5s. 6d.* Some examples of this weight have the B of Briot, as pointed out by Mr. Lawrence, and all were probably made in the time of Charles I. Nos. 13 and 14 are poor rude productions, roughly filed into a circular form. They are for the Portuguese half and quarter Joannes, in use after 1722.

It is unfortunate that very few of these weights can be considered to be contemporary with the box. The hall-marks on the nest of weights taken in connexion with the coat of arms would indicate that these are contemporary, and the same may be said for the James I weight and that for an angel. All the rest are ruled out by questions of date. The moidore of the type in the box does not seem to have come in until about 1680, while the pistole (a Louis d'or modelled on the Spanish piastola) was only introduced into France in 1640.

So much for the contents of the box, which, it must be confessed, include nothing of unusual interest, the James I piece being the only one that has any claims to artistic qualities.

Mr. Lawrence has gone deeper into the story of coin weights than I need to do, especially as his article is easily accessible. But it will, perhaps, be news to most of us that weights were officially made and issued from the Mint as early as the reign of King John. In 1205 a proclamation enacts that commercial dealings shall only take place with coins of full weight, and that for the discovering of lack of weight there was issued from the mint-office a penny-poize, to be delivered to any one who would have it, to be used until Easter of the next year.

Under Henry V certain goldsmiths and officers of the Mint were directed to prepare weights for the noble, half-noble, and farthing of gold, and to form ten puncheons for each weight—five of them with the impression of a crown, the other five with a fleur-de-lis.

It is only in the reign of Elizabeth, however, that we come to the real kernel of the matter for our present purpose. For in the year 1587 the warden of the Mint in the Tower was ordered to prepare upright balances and true weights of every several piece of gold lawfully current in the realm, and also of the said remedies and abatements, to be stricken with an E crowned, to be ready to deliver at reasonable prices. Somewhat later, 19th March 1587–8, followed another proclamation ordering the making of certain small cases for balances and weights to weigh all manner of gold

coins current within the realm. These cases were issued to the public under the auspices of the Goldsmiths' Company. Thereon follow detailed descriptions of five varieties of these cases of weights, ranging in price from 4*s.* 6*d.* to 3*s.* 5*d.* It will suffice now to recite the description of 'The First and greatest case':

'First, a case of wood with several partitions for xiiij printed weights, iiij other partitions for other weights, and one partition with a cover for grains, esteemed at viij*d.*', after which follow the balance, the weights for coins, and the 'other weights', each being separately 'esteemed', and costing, in all, 4*s.* 6*d.*

Here we have a precise description of the box before us, albeit fifty years before the date of its manufacture. We have the coin weights, though not in such great number, the ordinary Troy weights, and the 'partition with a cover for grains'.

A few years after Charles I came to the throne, the coin weights, though officially stamped, were found to be in an evil state—some too heavy and some too light. To amend this confusion a proclamation was issued in 1632 that His Majesty had taken into his own hands the making, assizing, and issuing the said counterpoises of weights; and the weights should be made of circular form (the first time we hear of this), with certain marks thereon by which they might be easily known from the weights which were formerly used. Finally, if any person counterfeited the weights or used any other, it would be a Star Chamber matter.

Although our case of weights was made only five years after this proclamation, it still bears internal evidence of the futility of the enactment, in the fact that whereas the moidore weight scales 165 grains, the ½-moidore only weighs 80 grains, the pistole 96 grains, and the ½-pistole 50 grains; and the guinea weight 126 grains, while the ½-guinea is only 56 grains (though these last are of Queen Anne's time).

And so Ruding, and Mr. Lawrence after him, carries the story on well into the reign of George III, where it ceases to interest us just now. To both of these I would refer any one interested in the matter, whether it be before or after the period with which we are now concerned, or with regard to the medallic details which scarcely arise here.

The owner of the box of weights, from the evidence of the coat of arms in the pans of the balance, was Henry Somerset, second son and heir of Edward Somerset, earl of Worcester, K.G. He married Anne, sole daughter and heiress of John Russell, styled Lord Russell, son of Francis Russell, earl of Bedford. Their son was the famous Edward Somerset, claimed as the inventor of the steam-engine,[1] and their grandson was created duke of Beaufort in 1682. Our earl seems to have been in many

[1] Henry Dircks, *Worcesteriana*, London, 1866.

ways a remarkable man, and it is a little singular that he was not thought worthy of a place in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. The principal events of his life are chronicled in G. E. C.'s *Complete Peerage*, vol. viii, p. 202. It is there stated that he was born in 1577 (a date hitherto doubtful); matriculated at Oxford at fourteen; was summoned to parliament in his father's barony as Lord Herbert, 1604–24; was joint lord lieutenant of Glamorgan and Monmouth from 1626–31; and succeeded his father as earl in 1627–8. His zeal in the cause of the king caused him to be created marquess of Worcester in 1642–3. One of the wealthiest men of the time, he adventured vast sums of money in the royal cause, a course of action that Clarendon attributes to the most sordid motive, viz. that the earl thought the chance of recovery of his money to be greater from the king than from parliament.

Clarendon's words [1] are: 'The marquis of Worcester was generally reputed the greatest monied man of the kingdom; and probably might not think it an unthrifty thing, rather to disburse it for the king, who might be able to repay it, than to have it taken from him by the other party, which would be hardly questionable if they prevailed.'

Whatever the inspiration, it is outside question that he spent freely for his king, both in his entertainment at Raglan and on the defence of the castle against the parliament.

Anthony à Wood also gives an account of the marquess. On leaving Oxford he went abroad for some time, and doubtless at this time became a Roman Catholic. He retired to Raglan on his return home and came but seldom to court. There he lived as a country gentleman, entertaining his friends on a generous and most hospitable scale. After Naseby the king went to Raglan, already well fortified, and his host spared no pains or expense in his entertainment, at the same time maintaining two armies on the king's behalf, he being lieutenant-governor of the king's forces in Monmouthshire. It was on this visit that the interviews on religious matters between the king and the marquess are supposed to have taken place, and were reported by Dr. Thomas Bayly in *Certamen Religiosum*, etc., published in 1649. These conferences were stigmatized by contemporaries as fictitious, which seems very likely. The author was ultimately committed to Newgate, whence he escaped and fled to Holland, and there declared himself a Roman Catholic.

A vast amount of detail about the marquess and his family is set out in Dircks's *Worcesteriana*, the purpose of the compiler being to give an account of the second marquess. Dircks, however, gives adequate references to many other sources of information about the father as well as the son. The

[1] Edition 1849, vol. ii, bk. 6.

account he gives of the siege and ultimate surrender of Raglan Castle is very full and of much interest. It is derived from David Williams's *History of Monmouth*, 1796. The marquess was very doubtful of Fairfax's power to make terms that would be acceptable to the parliament, but on this point he was ultimately reassured, and the garrison surrendered on 19th August 1646. The defenders were allowed to march out with all the honours of war, the officers and gentlemen to have passes beyond sea if they so desired, if not to have three months in which to come to an understanding with the parliament. The number of the defenders and others within the castle was 700 souls. Raglan was the last or last but one of the strongholds of the king in England and Wales. It was destroyed, or more correctly rendered useless, soon after its surrender, and the timber cut down: and the loss to the family in personal property was estimated at £100,000, while the forfeited estates realized £20,000 a year. In the British Museum exists the printed official notice of the sale of some of the real estate of the marquess, dated 23rd March 1646 (1647). In this the forfeiture is set out at length, and the property, apparently in London, is briefly described. There exists also the broadside published on 28th August 1646 ordering a day of public thanksgiving 'for the great blessing of God upon the forces of the Parliament in the reducing of the severall Castles and Garrisons of Worcester, Wallingford, Ruthen, Ragland, and Pendennis'.

The unfortunate marquess did not long survive these dramatic happenings, and died in December, 1646, in Covent Garden, where he was in the custody of Black Rod. He was buried in the Beaufort Chapel in St. George's Chapel, Windsor. An order of the House of Commons of 19th December 1646 grants the sum of £1,000 for his burial, so that whatever his misfortunes when living he was honourably treated when dead.

Mr. Lawrence welcomed the complete description of the earl of Worcester's box of weights. It was unfortunate that only two original weights for coins remained in the box, viz. those of James and Charles. Silver weights were very rare in comparison with the brass ones. Coin-weight boxes in which each weight had its own compartment were rare for any period, and he could not remember having seen one of Elizabeth nor a weight of her period. There were no English weights, to his knowledge, of Charles II or of George I. The boxes gradually fell out of use, chiefly owing to the establishment of banks and to the neglect of the old law as to individual weighing of gold coin, and also on account of the introduction of pocket machines

(temp. George III) in which the use of weights became unnecessary. The older weights apparently were seldom accurate.

Rev. E. E. Dorling had been more interested in the heraldry than the weights, and wondered why that particular nobleman should have had his coat of arms engraved on the scale-pans. There was no doubt about the arms, but he could see no reason for engraving them in such a case.

Mr. Dale inquired whether the pistole was in common use in the eighteenth century, and quoted some verses throwing light on the point.

Mr. Lawrence stated that the pistole was in use in Charles II's time and went back in England to about the year 1500.

Dr. Cock mentioned that similar sets of weights in boxes were used by apothecaries. One of Queen Anne's date included a set of gold-weights, and in some cases money-changers' and apothecaries' weights were intermingled.

Mr. Quarrell held that the use of silver for weights must have been extremely rare, but thought that the square weights of that metal were of fair antiquity.

Sir Hercules Read in reply agreed that the use of silver made the earl of Worcester's case of weights particularly interesting; and he knew of no other instance. Though Mr. Lawrence had never seen coin weights of George I or Elizabeth, they could not all have disappeared, and so keen a collector as he would some day make a happy discovery. The only reason he could assign for the arms on the scale-pans was that the earl had them made and engraved for identification and security.

The Chairman referred to the outside decoration of the box in silver open-work, and had with Mr. Baildon seen a resemblance to contemporary bookbinding, and to the work on hanapers for charters. The Society was indebted both to Sir Hercules Read and Mr. Lawrence for their work on an interesting subject.

Reginald Smith, Esq., F.S.A., read the following paper, entitled Side-lights on Italian 'bow-pullers':

Various exercises in typology have been already published by the Society, and the present paper is another, having for its point of departure a mysterious bronze object that is generally called a 'bow-puller'; but as most archaeologists (not to men-

tion toxophilites) recognize this as a misnomer, it is desirable to find if possible its ascendants and descendants, and thus to give it a place in the scheme of evolution. By working backwards from what appears to be the last stage on one line of development, a clue may be obtained to the position in which these objects were normally used and, by an inference that may be justified by further research, to their actual meaning and purpose.

The so-called 'bow-puller' is a somewhat coarse and heavy bronze casting in one piece about 3 in. long, consisting of a

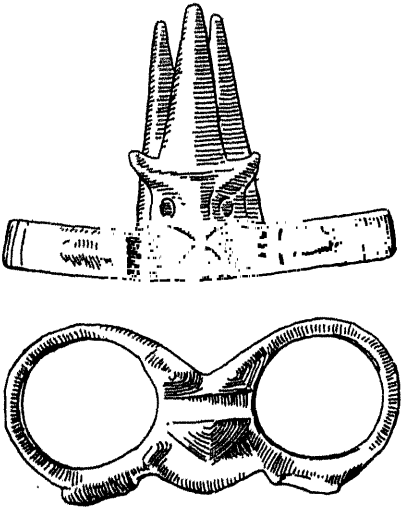


Fig. 1. HEAVY BRONZE 'BOW-PULLER', ITALY (⅔) (SIDE AND TOP VIEWS).

rectangular platform bearing three tapering projections or spines on one face, and expanding into rings at both ends. Occasionally iron is used, and the spines vary in number and height: four and even five are found, and they range in projection from 1·6 in. to almost nothing. It is possible that this inequality is not due to accident or amount of wear; for it would be in accordance with the interpretation now offered if the specimens with long spines and ornamented fronts (as fig. 1) were the earliest of this form, and those with rudimentary spines were later, belonging to a period of transition when their original use was lapsing, and the object was being turned to another purpose. If this surmise is correct, figs. 1–5 would be roughly in chronological order, but the limiting dates cannot at present be given with any certainty in the case of Italian specimens.

The majority seem to be of Etruscan origin, but remarkably few have been found in association with anything that discloses their exact date or manner of use; and it is curious that the two specimens that bridge the gap between Etruscan and Viking times were found in the south of England (figs. 6 and 7).

In 1894 Dr. Edward S. Morse, Director of the Peabody Academy of Science,[1] published a comprehensive paper on this subject, and regretted that while all the current explanations had to be rejected, he had none to offer in their place. He had

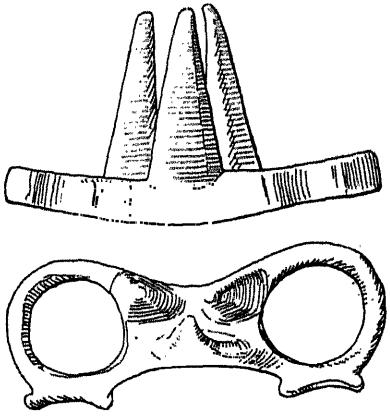


Fig. 2. MEDIUM BRONZE 'BOW-PULLER', ITALY (⅔) (SIDE AND TOP VIEWS).

access to a large number of specimens, many of which are illustrated; and 'it seemed', he says, 'with the material at my command that some light might be thrown on the uses of this object, but after a greatly interrupted study of it for over seven years, I reluctantly yield the solving of the enigma to others, having got no nearer an explanation of it than when I first began, contented however with the conviction that the usual attribution assigned to it has been disproved.' He usefully summarizes the explanations which broke down under examination: (1) as a bow-puller, (2) as a cross-bow implement, (3) as a caltrop or *tribulus*, (4) as a screw-driver, (5) as a spear-thrower, (6) as a snaffle or curb, (7) as a bit inside the mouth, (8) as a lamp-wick holder, (9) as an object to prevent a load from slipping, and (10) as a curb to hold in the hand, for grasping reins or anything else. He might have added that it has also been

[1] *Essex Institute Bulletin*, vol. xxvi (Salem, Mass., U.S.A.).

identified with the μύρμηξ,[1] which is defined as a sort of gauntlet or *cestus* with metal studs or nails like warts upon it.

Three of these explanations, be it observed, refer to the horse, and of these nos. 6 and 7 come very near the interpretation which has occurred to myself after disjointed speculations extending over some years. The subject is a little more complex than one would expect from mere inspection of the recognized type, and certain links have now come to light that prolong its history by about thirteen centuries, indeed in a sense

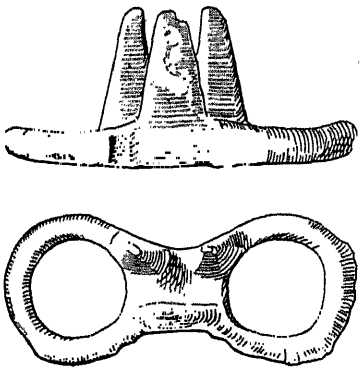


Fig. 3. LIGHT BRONZE 'BOW-PULLER', ITALY (⅔) (SIDE AND TOP VIEWS).

to the present day, besides suggesting a prototype in prehistoric times. Lantern-slides and specimens kindly lent for exhibition will give a certain objectivity to a discussion which in the past has caused much travail of the spirit and brought to birth some fantastic parallels.

In the paper just referred to several references are given, the chief being Strobel's two papers in *Bullettino di Paletnologia Italiana*, ser. ii, vol. iv (14th year), p. 92, pl. vii; and vol. v (15th year), p. 11, pl. ii; and Gozzadini's *Di un' antica necropoli a Marzabotto nel Bolognese* (1865), 62, pl. xix, figs. 7, 8. Other works with illustrations are cited by our Fellow Mr. Walters in his *Catalogue of Bronzes* (British Museum), p. 353; and it is strange that not a single specimen is figured in Prof. Montelius's sumptuous volumes on the early civilization of Italy. Dr. Morse remarks that the ornamentation (if any) is always on the outside of the single spine, and the animal head sometimes

[1] Prof. Brinton, in *Bulletin of Science and Art Museum* (Philadelphia), 1897, vol. i, no. 1, p. 10, identifies it with the Myrmex worn by pugilists (cf. *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, x. 265).

seen at its base is always facing and would be in its natural position if the bronze rested on the base between the rings. Right and left of the animal head are sometimes small animals or *phalli* pointing outwards in relief. The back of the rings and the remaining spines are quite plain. He had noticed no pairs of these objects, which is not surprising as their number must have been considerable and they are now widely scattered; and draws attention to the wearing down of the edges of the base and rings as if due to a strap or chain passing through the rings and under the spines. Gozzadini's drawings,[1] which he reproduces, show that this was the case.

The five exhibited by Sir Hercules Read range in length between 3·1 in. and 2·4 in., all having three spines, the tallest

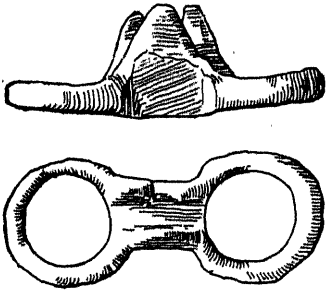


Fig. 4. REDUCED BRONZE 'BOW-PULLER', ITALY (⅔) (SIDE AND TOP VIEWS).

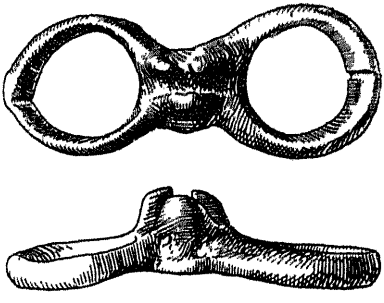


Fig. 5. BRONZE 'BOW-PULLER' WITH STUMPS, ITALY (⅔) (SIDE AND TOP VIEWS).

of which (from the under side of the base) is 2 in. Our Fellow Mr. Armstrong informs me that there are four in the collections at Dublin, all with three spines, ranging in height between 1½ in. and 1¼ in. Mr. C. J. Longman has kindly sent three for exhibition, all of which were illustrated by Dr. Morse (*op. cit.*, pl. ii, figs. 2, 3; pl. iii, fig. 1). One shows the animal head well developed at the base of the single spine, with *phalli* in front of the rings, and the two back spines joined almost to the point; another, labelled 'Perugia', is more curved than usual, and has a grooved projection on one ring that may be the remnant of a jet in casting; and the third (fig. 5) is curved the opposite way, has grooves inside the end of the rings, and serves as a link with the debased Romano-British form (figs. 8–11), having merely stumps ½ in. high with rounded tops instead of the formidable spines. In the British Museum is

[1] Reproduced in Daremberg and Saglio's *Dictionnaire, s.v.* 'Frenum', figs. 3285, 3286.

a specimen with four slight knobs, marking the transition to a mere ornament (*op. cit.*, pl. iv, fig. 3). The eight specimens exhibited have an average length of $2\frac{3}{4}$ in., the full height of the spines being less than $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. and their projection about 1 in.

By the kindness of our Fellow Mr. Arthur Smith I have been enabled to examine the specimens in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities at the British Museum, which include all the stages of evolution and may be roughly divided into three groups. There are five heavy specimens of what seems the early type, 2·6 in. to 3 in. long, each with three tall sharp

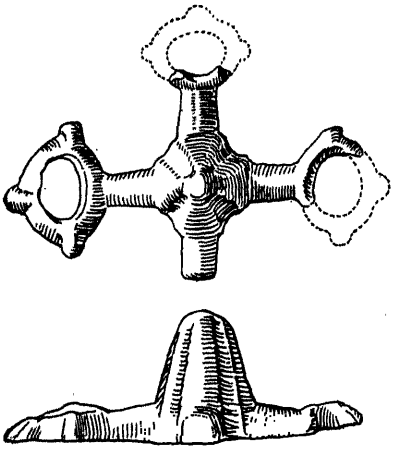


Fig. 6. BRONZE FROM POLDEN HILL HOARD, SOMERSET ($\frac{2}{3}$) (TOP AND SIDE VIEWS).

spines, the highest 2 in. and the projection about 1·5 in. All these bear a pair of *phalli* on the rings, some more distinct than others, and four have an animal's head at the base of the single spine, in two cases clearly that of an ox. In two specimens the two back spines tend to coalesce. The next group numbers six of simpler make, five of which have angles in front of the rings. All have three spines and one has the back pair only divided at the point. Two stand flat on their base; and the length of all varies between 2·4 in. and 2·9 in., the spines being about 1·6 in. high and projecting 1·2 in. The third group is plainly degenerate, consisting of three interesting specimens: (*a*) with plain rings bent back, total length 3·1 in., with four stumps $\frac{1}{2}$ in. high, projecting only $\frac{1}{4}$ in.; (*b*) with four stumps also projecting $\frac{1}{4}$ in., and unique in having crossed lines engraved on the flat underface; (*c*) the rings plain and bent

upwards (the more usual position), with three stumps projecting less than ½ in., total length 2·6 in.

The two specimens, which in themselves would only complicate the problems but serve as stepping-stones to clearer cases, were found many years ago but have oddly enough escaped publicity. The first (fig. 6) was included in the notable hoard of Late-Celtic bronzes found on the Polden Hills, Somerset, in 1800, but not illustrated or even mentioned in the account given in *Archaeologia*, xiv. 90. The series is now in the British Museum, and comprises fourteen bronze snaffle-bits, some enamelled, various plates belonging to horse-harness richly enamelled, five enamelled cheek-bars of bridle-bits in bronze and two in iron, shield-bosses, torc and other objects, but especially a peculiar bronze with conical centre, from which radiate three (or perhaps originally four) stems each ending in a ring: apparently 'derived from a well-known but unexplained pattern common in Italy, in which the centre consists of tapering spikes separated from each other by equal spaces, and a loop on two sides. Italian specimens with the spikes coalescing are extant, and the grooves on the Polden Hill example may represent the original interstices. These bronzes are generally, but incorrectly, termed "bow-pullers": they seem to have been connected in some way with the horse, and some have been found with iron chains passing through the loops and under the cone. The smaller size of the British example may be due to its manufacture for a pony'.[1] Such was my opinion in 1905, and strong support is now given by a companion bronze (fig. 7), which is cruciform but otherwise almost a duplicate of the Polden Hill specimen. It was found about 1880 2 ft. below the surface on the Sussex Downs near Firle Beacon and now belongs to Mr. H. G. Goodacre, who submitted it for an opinion some years ago, and now exhibits it in the hope of finding an explanation. The extreme dimensions (2·9 in. and 2·8 in.) may be taken as equal, and one loop is damaged but complete: all are fairly slender and show no great amount of wear. The central cone is hollow and has four pairs of double lines from the blunt apex to the base between the arms of the cross. The cone is 0·7 in. high, rising ½ in. above the arms. The shaping of the rings is a noticeable feature, and their bevelling shows that the front of the object is that on which the cone is set, the back being quite flat. Both this and the Polden Hill example show therefore a radical change in the use of these objects, the front of the Italian specimens being clearly shown by the ornamentation at the base of the single spine, flanked by the ornamented loops.

These specimens, even if they do not tell their own story,

[1] *Early Iron Age Guide* (British Museum), fig. 128.

show that the conical form is not accidental or arbitrary; and its derivation from spines that tended to coalesce seems to me most probable. A brooch found with two others in the Polden Hill hoard [1] points to the early first century of our era as the date of the deposit, and the Sussex specimen must be of about the same date. Somewhat later, well in the Roman period, fall a number of examples very like each other, that seem to illustrate a later stage of development. Our Fellow Mr. Andrew kindly

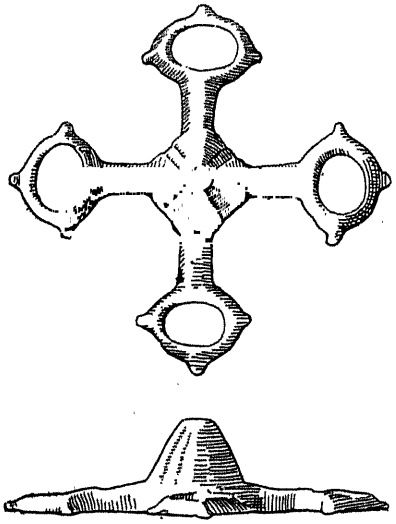


Fig. 7. CRUCIFORM BRONZE, FOUND NEAR FIRLE BEACON, SUSSEX ($\frac{2}{3}$) (TOP AND SIDE VIEWS).

exhibits a small specimen (fig. 8) with depressed cone and bevelled but otherwise plain rings, that was found at Mildenhall, Suffolk; the British Museum has one from Pimperne, Dorset (fig. 9); another (fig. 10) almost identical is at Devizes (Catalogue of Museum, part ii, pl. lxiii, fig. 1, p. 113, E 80); a fourth (fig. 11) in Colchester Museum, from the Joslin collection, is incomplete but evidently of the same pattern; and there is another in the Cambridge Archaeological Museum. Hence it may be regarded as British, and shows a considerable reduction of the central cone in fig. 8: in the others there is no longer a point but only a bevelled, button-like centre. The knobs that give an angular appearance to the terminal rings are generally

[1] *Early Iron Age Guide*, fig. 109.

retained, and a certain resemblance to the Somerset and Sussex examples already described will be admitted.

If the absence of a third or fourth limb is insisted on, one can only reply that the pattern with two loops is closer to the prototype, and the eventual discovery of a specimen with two loops and a conical centre would not come as a surprise, as the two forms have indeed been found together in a remarkable deposit presently to be described. In this connexion may be

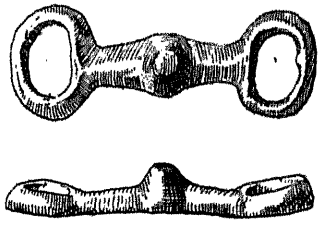


Fig. 8. BRONZE WITH LOW CONICAL CENTRE, MILDENHALL, SUFFOLK (⅔) (TOP AND SIDE VIEWS).

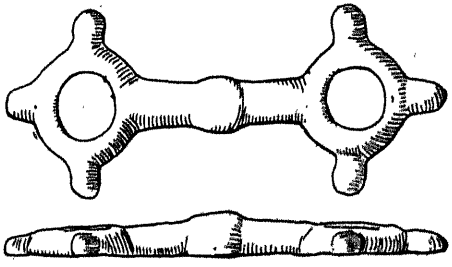


Fig. 9. BRONZE WITH BUTTON CENTRE, PIMPERNE, DORSET (⅔) (TOP AND SIDE VIEWS).

mentioned another bronze (fig. 12) found at Pimperne, Dorset, that is abnormal in having a flat tapering projection from the centre, with small perforations. It is at present unique, but is best compared with fig. 14 (lower).

Parallels from Sweden have been published by Dr. T. J. Arne, who referred to an excavation made by himself and Dr. Almgren at Lundby, near Eskilstuna, in Södermanland south of Lake Maelar.[1] Burials were there found for the most part in mounds 10 ft.–23 ft. in diameter with a considerable burnt layer, containing burnt bones, pottery, and various unimportant ob-

[1] *Fornvännen*, 1907, p. 294; 1909, p. 246; 1910, p. 277, fig. 84; 1911, 266, fig. 111; 1912, 184, figs. 21–5.

jects of iron, bronze, and bone. One small barrow evidently dated from the Early Iron Age, but the remaining seventeen were of the Viking period. Subsequently on the same site, where a mound had been levelled, was found a group of great interest, consisting of the following, which are illustrated in his contribution to the archaeology of Södermanland[1]: a pair of richly ornamented bronze stirrups, a bridle-bit with jointed and twisted 'mouth' and openwork bronze cheek-pieces (fig. 13),

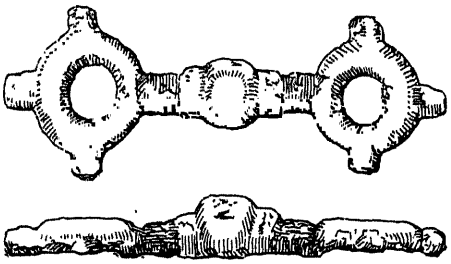


Fig. 10. BRONZE WITH BUTTON CENTRE, CASTERLEY CAMP, WILTS. (⅔) (TOP AND SIDE VIEWS).

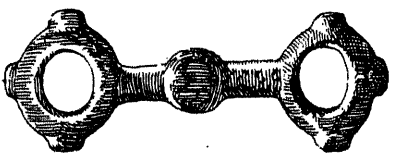


Fig. 11. BRONZE WITH BUTTON CENTRE, COLCHESTER (FROM PHOTOGRAPH KINDLY SUPPLIED BY THE CURATOR, CASTLE MUSEUM) (⅔).

two double loops (fig. 14) belonging to the bridle, two iron spurs, a large spear-head, a large semicircular buckle, a strong knife, a large rivet, with some lumps of rust and burnt fragments of bone. A similar openwork cheek-piece was found in 1910 near the church at Byringe in Husby-Rekarne (between the lakes of Maelar and Hielmar), and a cruciform bronze mount (fig. 15), with another mount like fig. 14 (lower), was found subsequently at Lundby, and no doubt originally belonged to the bridle-bit (fig. 13). On the same spot were also found a bronze brooch of peculiar Scandinavian type and other details (fig. 60, *a–d*, in the original account). Such bridle-bits are

[1] *Nya bidrag till Södermannlands förhistoria*, in *Bidrag till Södermannlands äldre Kulturhistoria*, published by the local *Fornminnesförening* (1915, p. 30, figs. 51–60).

by no means isolated, and the Lundby find is dated not later than A.D. 950.

From Etruscan to Viking times is a period of about thirteen centuries, and the changes undergone by an object of local but daily use may now be rapidly reviewed. Further research or good fortune may bring to light other links in the chain, but the available material shows what is probably the final stage, leaving the earliest form rather problematic. The 'bow-puller' was in any case common in central and northern Italy; and apart from the British evidence it is more than probable that the boldly modelled and ornamented specimens (as fig. 1) with tall spines preceded those with stumpy or coalescing spines and

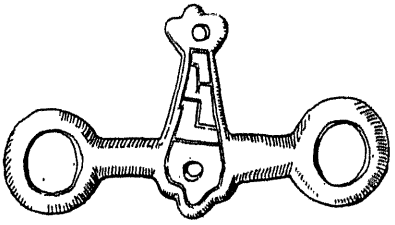


Fig. 12. BRONZE WITH ENGRAVED PROJECTION, PIMPERNE, DORSET (⅔).

no ornamental features, if we except the projections on the rings, which seem to be a simplification and repetition of the reliefs on the less conventional specimens. Whether by accident or design, some of the Italian (or Etruscan) examples have the points drawn together and the divisions less pronounced, so that their eventual combination into a cone might have been foretold. In four or five centuries, perhaps, this change had come about, and a third and fourth limb added, no doubt to take additional straps. About this time too there was a change of front. At first the side with ornament (and that side alone) was meant to be seen; but the British examples were intended to show on the flat, and were perhaps more ornamental than useful.[1] The cruciform pattern had by this time appeared, but did not oust the original form with two loops, for after another nine centuries the two forms, a little debased but practically unaltered, are found in a single deposit, not in England but Scandinavia. At first sight there seems little or no resemblance between figs. 1 and 14; but if the evidence adduced is trustworthy, the form was dominant and the function recessive, as

[1] Its shape and position with regard to the bridle remained much the same after its original use had been forgotten: a similar survival in horse-harness is the diminutive saddle retained on the pad.

the Mendelians would say. It now remains to consider the original and later uses of the type, and in this case it will be best to begin with the latest example and work backwards.

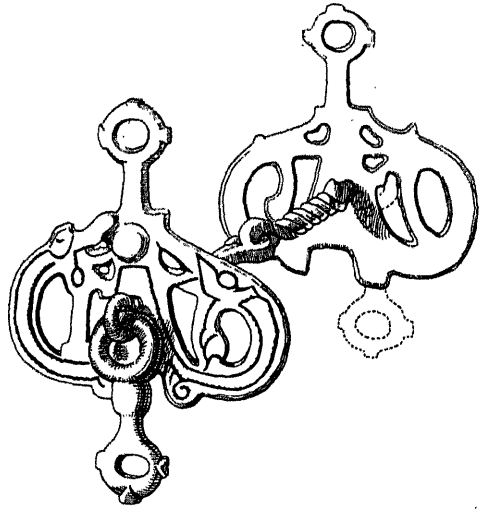


Fig. 13. BRONZE BRIDLE-BIT, LUNDBY, SWEDEN ($\frac{1}{2}$).

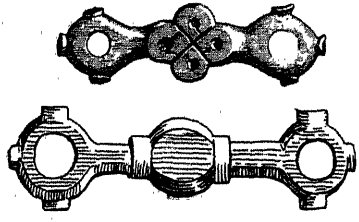


Fig. 14. TWO BRONZES WITH LOOPS, LUNDBY, SWEDEN ($\frac{1}{2}$).

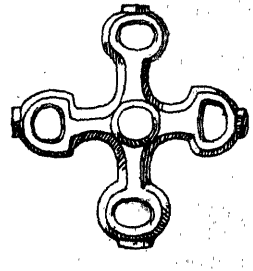


Fig. 15. CRUCIFORM BRONZE WITH LOOPS, LUNDBY, SWEDEN ($\frac{1}{2}$).

The snaffle-bit of the Lundby find (fig. 13) has openwork cheek-pieces with a projecting loop at the top and a pendent loop below, together corresponding to the bar with two loops in the same series. If the openings at the side of the cheek-piece are regarded as functional, comparison may be made with the four-limbed specimen found in association (fig. 15). In either case there is an *a priori* connexion with the early British and Roman specimens; but similarity of function need not be

inferred. It is enough for our present purpose to establish a connexion with a horse's bridle, which after all is the main point. There is a strong presumption therefore that the British and Roman specimens, which present such striking features of resemblance, were used in some such manner, the interval of eight or nine centuries perhaps having effected some changes in detail. Is there any means of applying the Dorset and Sussex examples to a bridle-bit, and if so, what use did they serve?

As already pointed out, the two specimens with conical centres (figs. 6 and 7) are typologically earlier than the other British specimens (figs. 8–11); and though the latter type probably served the same purpose as the two loose examples in the Lundby hoard, the cones on the other two might suggest a more utilitarian function. Their decoration, on the other hand, shows that the cone was meant to be seen, and for the moment they may be looked upon as connected in some way with bridle mouth-pieces, though the ends of the snaffle do not seem to have been fastened into the hollow cones. The Etruscan specimens were at all events primarily for use; and as chains have been found passing through two of them (at Rome and near Verona) and one of the chains terminated in a ring (fig. 16), it is not difficult to apply this type to the headstall, practically in the position indicated by the Lundby snaffle. If the chain served as a cheek-strap and the ring held the rein, the so-called 'bow-puller' would, if turned inwards, show its ornamented side and bear with its spines on the horse's cheek just beyond the mouth (fig. 17). By this means a pull on the near rein would press the spines into the cheek on the off side and cause a sharp turn of the head. If the nose-band and chin-strap passed through one or both loops of a pair of these bronzes, the points would remain at right angles to the cheek; whereas on the supposition that the 'bow-pullers' were brays fastened over the horse's nose, the weight of the bronze and nose-band would make the spines intolerable, even if the bronze could be made to stand on its points. Such an abomination is not unheard of in modern times, and by way of palliation it may be pointed out that the spines were blunt compared with a spur, and perhaps were only felt when the rein was pulled.

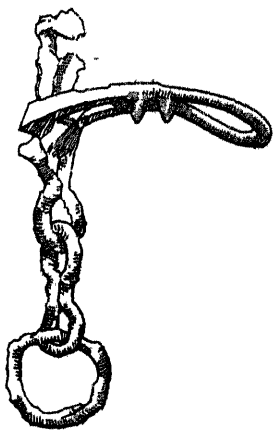


Fig. 16. BRONZE 'BOW-PULLER' WITH CHAIN, FOUND NEAR VERONA (⅓).

On this theory it should be possible to explain the origin and disuse of these peculiar bronzes. They belong to the Etruscan civilization of Italy, which is also reflected in the Marzabotto cemetery, and finally gave way to Rome in the third century B.C. As Etruscan remains are so abundant, it might be reasonably objected that this contrivance is never represented in works of art. There are perhaps two reasons: first, that it was perhaps more agricultural than heroic; and secondly, as only half the terminal rings would show on the cheek-straps, they may have been overlooked on representations of the harnessed horse. The only hint of its presence I have noticed is in Ginzrot, *Über*

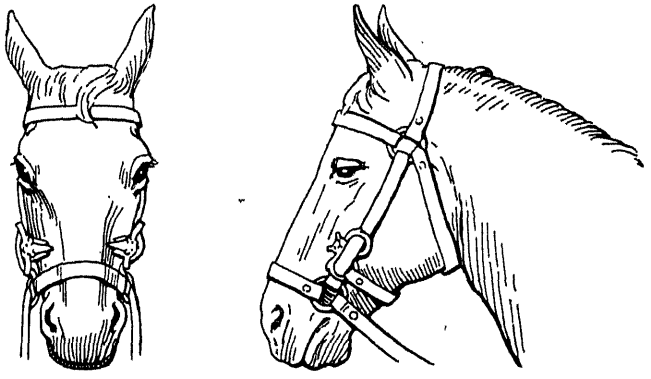


Fig. 17. HEADSTALL FITTED WITH 'BOW-PULLERS' (FRONT AND SIDE VIEWS).

Wagen und Fahrwerke, ii, 323, pl. lxxii, fig. 2, and pl. lxiii, fig. 3; but the drawings are probably inaccurate.

By the first century of our era their use had been forgotten in Britain,[1] and in a conventionalized form they served as ornaments, the cone being evidently turned outwards, away from the horse's cheek; and as such lasted into Viking times. But the origin of the type is not so clear, and a philological hint is all that can at present be offered. In Greece the bridle-bit goes back to Homer, and the curb was known to Xenophon, whose treatise on Horsemanship was written early in the fourth century B.C. The heavy classical curb (as illustrated in the British Museum *Guide to Greek and Roman Life*, p. 203) has rollers on the mouth-piece with transverse ribs, and such comparatively harmless contrivances have been held to explain the term *frenum*

[1] There is no proof that a 'bow-puller' has ever been found in Britain. One is illustrated in *Archaeological Journal*, ix, 115, but no locality is given.

lupatum, as used by Virgil, Horace, Ovid, and Martial. The first two passages (*Georg.* iii. 208, and *Odes*, i. 8. 10) are in general terms; and though Ovid's mention of it (*Am.* i. 2. 15) —'asper equus duris contunditur ora lupatis'—might apply to pressure on the outside of the mouth, Martial (*Epig.* i. 105. 4) makes it clear that in his day at least the *lupatum* was a bridle-bit ('mordent aurea quod lupata cervi'). It is by no means contended that the 'bow-puller' was the predecessor of the snaffle or curb, for these mysterious bronzes have been found associated with jointed snaffles in Etruscan tombs,[1] and a later variety with the enamelled bits of Polden Hill. Hence this 'bow-puller' and the snaffle were contemporary, and evidently connected with one another; and the Latin name of the former may have been transferred to the latter. Conington, in his edition of Virgil, quotes Servius as follows: 'dicta lupata a lupinis dentibus qui inaequales sunt.' The rings flanking the 'port' of the classical curb are slightly and regularly ribbed and totally unlike the teeth of the wolf; and it is just possible that the term had by that date lost its original significance and become a standing epithet of *frenum*. But Virgil's husbandmen would not use the bronze curb with ribbed rollers, and the *frenum lupatum* must have been something much simpler. Apart from any preconception the words should mean a bridle (with or without a bit) armed with wolves' teeth (real or artificial); and the 'bow-puller' answers fairly well to that description. It could be used with or without a bit (and bitless bridles are not uncommon at the present day), and its spines might well be compared with the fangs of a wolf. There may indeed be more fact than metaphor in the Latin name, and a few fangs fastened into wood or horn may have been the prototype of the 'bow-puller'. If such is the case, the absence (or scarcity) of any earlier form in metal is easily accounted for. The earliest 'bow-puller' would thus be a copy of the contrivance in use when bronze was first used in the district for that purpose. There are, however, one or two specimens[2] that may be simpler varieties of the same contrivance, namely a flat ring of bronze with one or three spikes standing on it, or one spike standing on a bar across the ring. Neither these nor the 'bow-pullers' could have been worn as spurs on the heel, but the effect on the horse would have been equivalent, and the prick-spur lasted from the Early Iron Age into the middle ages. In view of this

[1] As stated by Dr. Morse (*op. cit.* 157).

[2] Figured by Dr. Morse, *op. cit.*, figs. 9, 11. The goad, though mounted on a stick, would serve the same purpose: for specimens, see Pitt-Rivers, *Excavations, etc.*, i, pl. xxix, fig. 10; ii, pl. cv, figs. 10–12; iii, pl. clxxxiii, figs. 17–19.

possible relationship I venture to replace the name 'bow-puller' by bridle-spur or bridle-prick. These bronzes could have been used either to supplement or to replace the bridle-bit; and whether they belonged to the harness of horses or oxen is not essential. Their later development is in favour of the former; but in view of their absence from works of art and the repeated occurrence of a bovine head as ornament, it is possible that oxen harnessed to the plough were controlled in this way. In which case they would constitute a variety of the goad, the *phalli* being in place as emblems of fertility;[1] and it is significant perhaps that the horse's head does not occur as part of the decoration, as it often does on the openwork brass discs of harness even at the present day.

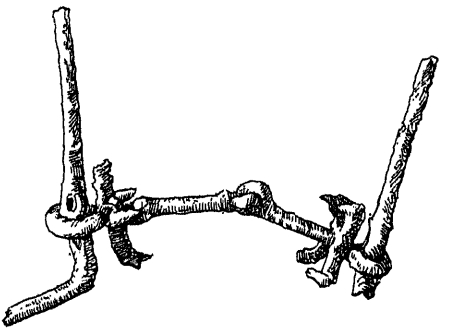


Fig. 18. IRON BRIDLE-BIT FROM A KURGAN, S. RUSSIA ($\frac{1}{4}$).

Having got so far, I showed the drawings to two harness-makers: the first after some hesitation expressed his conviction that the 'bow-puller' was used as I have described, and the cruciform specimens as ornamental ends of the mouth-piece; the other confessed himself baffled, but incidentally showed me an instrument of torture of which I exhibit a model. It is euphemistically called a bit-guard, and is rarely made and used at the present day. Two thicknesses of leather form a stout disc with a zigzag opening for passing it over the mouth-piece close to the cheek-bars. From the inner side project a number of points like blunted tin-tacks, which press against the outside of the mouth when the opposite rein is pulled, and in fact perpetuate the Etruscan tradition, and show the continuance of the practice over two dozen centuries.

This parallel may seem far-fetched, but two others may serve to clinch the argument. In the article *Frenum* in Daremberg

[1] Priapus of the farm and garden, identified with the old Italian deity Mutunus, is another illustration of the same idea.

and Saglio's Dictionary of Antiquities is a drawing of an iron bridle-bit (*fig.* 18) fitted with a plate at each end of the mouth-piece, each with four (or six) points turned inwards; and in the original account [1] there is also a drawing of half another bronze specimen (fig. 19) similarly furnished. They were found in a kurgan (burial-mound) on the Russian shore of the Black Sea, the date given being about the fourth century B.C., contemporary therefore but presumably unconnected with the Etruscan series. Stephani calls these spiked fittings ἐχῖνοι or τριβολοι, and Liddell and Scott define the former word as hedgehog or sea-urchin, and in the plural 'sharp points on each end of a bit which by a sudden check of the reins were pressed against the mouth; = Latin *frena lupata*'. This may have been taken from

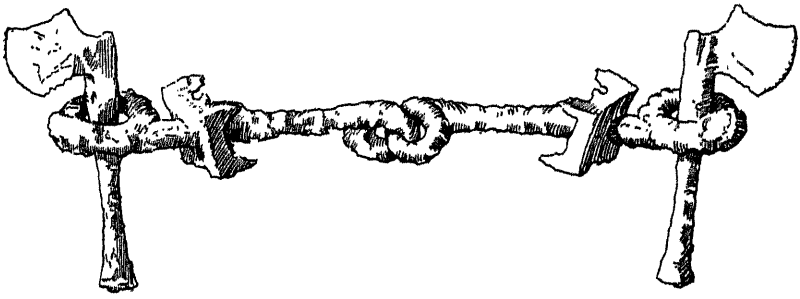


Fig. 19. PART OF BRONZE BRIDLE-BIT FROM A KURGAN, S. RUSSIA (⅓). (ONE-HALF REPEATED.)

Stephani, but in any case is wrong, as other passages [2] clearly show that the ἐχῖνοι were inside the mouth, corresponding to the rollers already mentioned. On the other hand, as suggested above, these Russian specimens may be a local variety of the *frena lupata*.

The other piece of evidence is a bronze bridle-bit from Egypt, about to be published by Prof. Flinders Petrie, who readily consented to exhibit it in illustration of the paper, stating in a letter that a bit of the same form is at Athens among things of late Mycenean Age. The mouth-piece is jointed and twisted, and the cheek-bars are 8½ in. long and massive, each with two loops on the outer rounded face and a line of three spikes springing from the flat inner face, beginning ½ in. above the opening for the mouth-piece. These would be brought to

[1] Stephani, *Compte-rendu de la Commission archéologique de St. Pétersbourg*, 1876, 132, 133.

[2] As those quoted by himself: Xenophon, *Hipp.* x, 6; Pollux, *Onomasticon*, lib. i, cap. xi, sec. 184 (p. 116 of 1706 edition) (ἐχῖνοι τρίβολοι οὓς μασῶνται ὁ ἵππος).

bear on the outside of the mouth by a touch of the rein, and thus serve the same purpose as the Etruscan bridle-spurs, which are now seen to be anything but isolated phenomena, and to have had a long if not very creditable history.

Sir HERCULES READ thought the most dangerous part of the author's theories was their plausibility. He had been doubtful till the harness-makers' evidence was brought forward at the end of the paper; and if anything could convince him, it was the expert opinion that he himself generally relied on in ethnographical problems of that kind. The modern craftsman could often recognize and explain mysterious contrivances collected in remote regions. In the present case that course had been taken, and the modern 'bit-guard' was to him the most convincing part of the evidence adduced. A point that helped the argument was the frequent modern use of phallic ornaments to avert trouble and counteract the evil eye. The 'bow-puller,' applied as suggested in the paper, would not have been so cruel to the horse as the modern 'bit-guard' of which a model was exhibited; and he had been assured that the formidable Mexican spur was not so severe as the ordinary hunting rowel. The former was worn more for purposes of parade than for use on the horse.

Mr. QUARRELL had seen extreme cases of the leather disc with wire spikes in the west of England. The main object was to master a pulling horse. He thought the Viking bit thrown on the screen was drawn the wrong way up, and if reversed would be recognized as a snaffle and curb.

The CHAIRMAN proposed a vote of thanks in which were included the various exhibitors.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for these communications and exhibitions.

THURSDAY, 7th DECEMBER 1916.

Sir CHARLES HERCULES READ, Knt., LL.D., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The following gifts were announced, and thanks for the same ordered to be returned to the donors:

From the Author :—Geschichte der Familie Ammann von Zürich. By A. F. Ammann. Vol. 2. 4to. Zürich, 1913.

From the Author, T. H. Fosbrooke, Esq., F.S.A. :—

1. Newhouse Grange, Sheepy, Leicestershire. 8vo. n. p. 1916.
2. A short description of the original building accounts of Kirby Muxloe Castle, Leicestershire, recently discovered at the Manor House, Ashby-de-la-Zouch. 8vo. n. p. 1916.

From the Author :—The Guitar and Mandolin : Biographies of celebrated Players and Composers for these Instruments. By P. J. Bone. 8vo. London, 1914.

From W. J. Hemp, Esq., F.S.A. :—New Plan of London, &c., with 360 references to the principal streets. London. n. d.

Notice was given of the ballot for the election of Fellows to be held on Thursday, 18th January 1917, and the list of the candidates to be put to the ballot was read.

C. L. KINGSFORD, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., read a paper on our Lady of the Pew; the King's Closet in the Palace of Westminster, which will be printed in *Archaeologia*.

Though references to the Chapel of the Pew were not uncommon in the later medieval period, its history was somewhat obscure, and even the meaning of the name had been disputed. There seemed, however, to be no doubt that it was the chapel of the King's Closet or pew within the palace. It was described as an oratory situated between the new chapel of St. Stephen and the Painted Chamber, and in 1443 a chamber in the Constabulary was said to extend to the chapel of the Blessed Mary of Pew and to the Gallery. These references showed that the Pew was on the east side of the old cloisters and suggested that access was by means of a gallery between the Privy Palace and St. Stephen's similar to the gallery on the opposite side which still existed 100 years ago. This position agreed with the eighteenth-century tradition that the room in which the Cotton Library was kept till 1722 was an ancient oratory of the Palace: the position assigned to the Pew was within the block of buildings which became Cotton House.

Henry III bequeathed the furniture of his chapel with the golden image of the Blessed Virgin to his son Edward. This was

probably the earliest reference to the image of our Lady of the Pew. There were some references to the King's oratory between the Painted Chamber and St. Stephen's chapel during the reign of Edward III. The first specific mention of the Pew was in 1369. Froissart described how Richard II went to a little chapel with an image of our Lady, that worked great miracles, on the morning of his meeting with Wat Tyler. In the fifteenth century the history of the chapel was chiefly one of benefactions. In 1452, when the image was described as dubbed with jewels so precious that no jeweller could judge the price, the chapel was burnt. It was afterwards rebuilt, chiefly by the help of Anthony Woodville, Earl Rivers, who in 1476 obtained for the Chapel of the Pew the singular indulgence of the Scala Celi, modelled on that at the Scala Celi at Tre Fontane near Rome. The indulgence of the Scala Celi at the Pew was specially mentioned in the benefaction of Richard Grene in 1486 and in wills between that date and 1521. There were numerous references to offerings at the Pew in the Privy Purse expenses of Henry VII and Henry VIII. The latest reference was in 1531, soon after which date the old palace of Westminster ceased to be a royal residence. On the dissolution of the College of St. Stephen the block in which the Pew was situated became a private dwelling-house. As such it was occupied by Sir Robert Cotton, and so it seemed probable that the Chapel of the Pew was the original home of the Cotton Library and one of the meeting-places of the old Society of Antiquaries. When the Cotton Library became the property of the nation in the reign of Queen Anne, the room in which the library was kept was said to be long, narrow, and damp. Sir Christopher Wren reported that the room was in such bad condition that it could not be conveniently restored, but it was not till 1722 that the Library was moved to better quarters at Essex House. Cotton House was then in a ruinous condition, and was apparently rebuilt not many years later.

Mr. D. Baird Wood, of the British Museum, supplied some particulars as to the measurements of the presses and shelves for the manuscripts in the Cottonian Library. There were fourteen presses in all, twelve called after the twelve Caesars and the other two Cleopatra and Faustina. The press 'Augustus' contained chiefly charters, plans, etc., and probably stood in the centre, its place against the wall being taken by Cleopatra and Faustina, which seem to have followed Julius. The width of most of the presses was about 2 ft. 6 in., but Julius, and probably Titus, were somewhat smaller, whilst Tiberius was rather wider, about 3 ft. 3 in., and Vitellius very much wider, about 5 ft. 3 in. Domitian had only one shelf, and, as Mr. Kings-

ford had suggested, might have been over a door; of the other wall-presses, six had six shelves and six had five shelves. Mr. Wood quoted the description of the room from the Act of Parliament in 1707 as 'a long narrow room, damp and unsuitable for its purpose'. He mentioned that the removal of the Library from Essex House two years before it so narrowly escaped destruction in its new quarters, was due to the supposed risk of fire.

Mr. LELAND DUNCAN stated that the name our Lady of the Pew was not peculiar to Westminster: there were references to similar images in parish churches, as at Headcorn, Kent. The name was doubtless due to an image being set up in an enclosure in the church. There were analogous references in Kentish wills to 'our Lady of the pillar', to an image 'at my seat's end', etc.

Mr. NORMAN was puzzled by the name, and thought that a Pew implied an enclosure where the patron of a church usually sat.

Mr. PAGE inquired as to the establishment of the Chapel, which might possibly have been collegiate.

Mr. HARDY hoped that the dimensions of the Chapel calculated from the bookcases would be published, as they would probably repay study.

Mr. KINGSFORD replied that the Chapel got its name from the fact that it contained the king's pew or closet, and was probably reserved for use as his private chapel. It was served by a subordinate priest under the canons of St. Stephen's.

The CHAIRMAN expressed the meeting's appreciation of the paper, and referred to the connexion between the Chapel and the British Museum, where the ancient tradition of the Cottonian Library was preserved. He had more than once examined the history of that collection, which was more than a library, containing as it did many works of art, of great archaeological interest and yet originally placed about the room with no special protection. Such a practice, however pleasing in theory, had to be abandoned sooner or later, and was anything but a good precedent. Many objects in the British Museum without any history might have once formed part of the Cottonian collection. Several had been published in *Archaeologia* and *Proceedings*: for example, a large ibex-horn, described as a gryphon's claw on the silver band,[1] and dedicated to St. Cuthbert of Durham. The paper had entailed an enormous amount of research, which, taken

[1] *Proceedings*, ix. 250.

in bulk, was almost overwhelming, and would be more fully appreciated when examined at leisure.

W. H. QUARRELL, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., exhibited a Scottish chalice made by Robert Gairdyne of Dundee, upon which he read the following notes:

This silver cup bears the arms of the donors, William Durham and Jean Durham or Auchterlonie his wife, and the following inscription:

WILLIAM DVRHAM IEAN AVCHTERLONIE
IN OVR CHERETIE VE DISSPOS THIS SAM
FOR THE CELEBRATING
OF THE HOLY COMVNIONE
VNTO THE CHVRCH OF MONIFVTH
ANNO DOMINI 1642

The bowl is 6¾ in. in diameter, and 2 in. deep. The height of the cup is 7¾ in. and the foot is 4½ in. in diameter. The cup, which now belongs to Rev. W. W. Jackson, D.D. (formerly Rector of Exeter College, Oxford) and Mrs. Jackson, by whose courtesy it is now shown, was presented to the church of Monifieth, 6¼ miles north of Montrose, in 1642. It bears the double mark, 'R. G.', of Robert Gairdyne of Dundee, who worked there from 1635 to 1668 inclusive, and the Dundee town mark. Several specimens of Gairdyne's craft are known, at Brechin, and elsewhere in Scotland.

The entries in the Synod Presbytery and Kirk Session records of Monifieth are full, and they state that in 1645 the Laird of Ardownie, James Durhame, or Durham, had in his possession this cup and another large silver cup and other articles presented by his father, William Durham, and his mother, Jean Ouchterlony, or Auchterlonie, for safe keeping, as he alleged. It does not appear whether the Laird of Ardownie held these articles direct from the donors or whether he had received them back from the minister, but in 1673 the then minister of Monifieth, who had been evidently unable to obtain possession of them as church property, represented the case to the Diocesan Synod of St. Andrews; and the Archbishop and Synod, about two years before the assassination of Archbishop Sharp in 1679, ordered security to be obtained from Mr. James Durham. This process was evidently unsuccessful for a time, and it was not till 1679 that the church obtained possession of the silver cups and other articles, and in April 1679 the minister and elders took the precaution of having the two cups weighed, and found this cup to be 'fourteen ounces and two drops'.

About the year 1829 William Maule, afterwards Lord Penmure, appears to have induced the then minister, Rev. John Bisset, who is well pilloried by Rev. Thomas Burns, to part with this cup (and the other a larger cup of 'sixteen ounces and one drop', according to the records of 1679) to him in exchange for four new pieces of silver plate, the two cups being later given by him to a friend. Through the latter the smaller cup, now shown, passed by bequest and then by gift to the present owners, and the larger cup, having been sold, passed through the hands of Messrs. Lambert & Co. into the collection of the Earl of Rosebery.

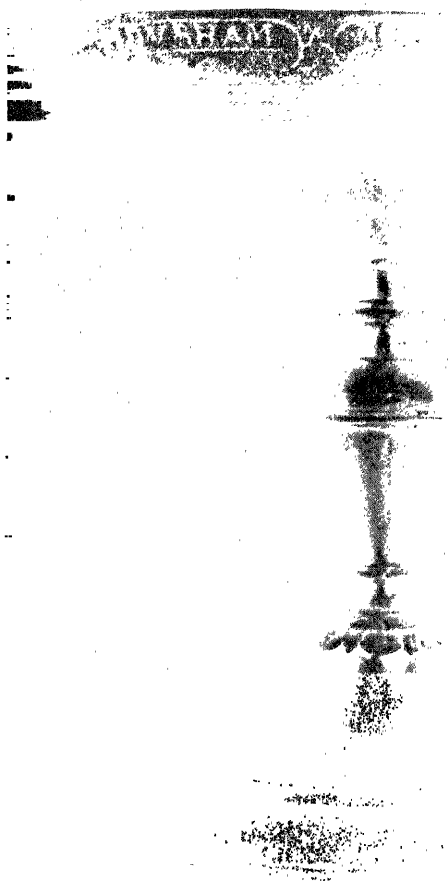
Rev. Thomas Burns, to whose work on Scottish Communion Plate I am indebted for the main part of these notes, states that the larger cup bore the Edinburgh hall-mark, and was made by John Fraser, 1637–8, and was presented to Monifieth in 1638. This cup was once exhibited at the Society of Antiquaries by Mr. Lambert.

The cup now exhibited possesses a bowl of remarkably fine and graceful design. The beautiful cup of St. Mary's College, St. Andrews, resembles it, as do to a slight degree the three larger cups of the Town Church, St. Andrews, made by George Robertson of Edinburgh in 1616, but the last lack the elegance of design of the Monifieth chalice.

The chalices with bowls most nearly resembling that now exhibited are those of Soutra, Straiton, Dalry, and Beith, all a few years earlier than that of Monifieth, and the Cathcart chalice of 1656. All these differ as to the ornamentation of the foot and of the stem. In the last respects the Fintray (Aberdeenshire) cup of 1633 most nearly resembles the cup now exhibited, but it is much inferior in design of the bowl. The remaining specimens of the same class to be mentioned are the two Cawdor cups of 1617–19. These have a foot nearly resembling that of Monifieth, but again fail in fineness of design of the bowl. These last cups are in the possession of Earl Cawdor. It may be noted that the Durham cup now exhibited bears a curious resemblance, in particular in the design of the bowl, to the silver-gilt tazzas of 1572 and 1609 which belong to Christ's College, Cambridge. The latter are of smaller size.

The Chairman thanked those responsible for the exhibit, and congratulated the maker of the cup on a fine piece of technical perfection: he had seldom seen a better shaped bowl. If the cup had belonged anywhere outside Scotland, he would not have regarded it as an ecclesiastical vessel, but as a civil and domestic piece of plate, which had been presented to the church by some pious person. There were many similar instances, as for example the Tong cup. The present specimen was characteristic of the

To face page 46



SILVER CHALICE BY ROBERT GAIRDYNE

reign of James I, the peculiar long baluster, the wide bowl and small foot all agreeing with a date between 1605 and 1640; and the British Museum had specimens similarly designed in the bowl to show off the brilliant qualities of the wine.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for this communication and exhibition.

THURSDAY, 14th DECEMBER 1916.

Sir ARTHUR JOHN EVANS, Knt., D.Litt., F.R.S., President, in the Chair.

The following gift was announced, and thanks for the same ordered to be returned to the donor:

From A. P. Maudslay, Esq., F.S.A.:—Excavations on the site of the Romano-British town of Magna, Kenchester, Herefordshire, during the years 1912–13. By G. H. Jack. 8vo. Hereford, 1916.

The following letter was read:

Sir John Soane's Museum,
13 Lincoln's Inn Fields,
W.C.
1 *December* 1916.

DEAR MR. KINGSFORD,

The executors of my brother, the late Mr. R. Phenè Spiers—Miss Spiers and myself—desire in accordance with his wishes to offer for the acceptance of the Council of the Society of Antiquaries one of his water-colour drawings, a view of the Parthenon from the north-west, and the following two volumes, which I understand are not at present in the Library:

Choisy's *L'Art de Bâtir chez les Romains*,

De Vogüé's *Le Temple de Jérusalem*;

and there is a third volume, which, if it is not already in the Library, we should be glad to offer you, viz.:

C. R. Cockerell's *Temples of Jupiter Panhellenius, Aegina and Apollo Epicurius, Bassae.*

These three volumes were either presentations or prizes, and we desire therefore to dispose of them as gifts.

One other small memento we should also like to offer, namely, a medallion portrait of my brother, executed by E. Lanteri in 1905.

Yours very truly,
WALTER L. SPIERS.

H. S. Kingsford, Esq.

Special thanks were voted to Mr. Spiers and his co-executor for these presents.

Notice was again given of the ballot for the election of Fellows to be held on Thursday, 18th January 1917, and the list of the candidates to be put to the ballot was again read.

E. Thurlow Leeds, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., read the following paper on an Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Wheatley, Oxfordshire:

On 24th April 1884, Mr. J. Kenward, one-time Fellow of this Society, read before the Birmingham Philosophical Society a paper entitled 'A first note on the Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Wheatley, Oxfordshire',[1] in which he gave a general account of the excavations up to date. In spite of the title of the paper, however, though further exploration of the cemetery was made subsequent to that date, no detailed account of the results of the work has ever been published.

Nowadays archaeologists demand fuller particulars of excavations than was always the case in the past. The present lull in archaeological excavations of every kind, therefore, seems to offer a suitable opportunity for placing on record the details of discoveries in the past such as those made over thirty years ago at Wheatley.

The first account of the Wheatley cemetery mentions some of the more notable objects found, but gives no particulars about them, nor any conspectus of the grave-finds. The records from which it is possible to form such a conspectus consist of notes partly taken on the spot and partly, it would seem, from evidence derived from the workmen and other sources. They are thus not quite as complete as could be desired, and after the lapse of thirty years it is not to be hoped that they can be supplemented to any great extent. The writer has had to content himself largely with the records still preserved among the archives of the Ashmolean Museum, where the relics discovered have also found a resting-place. He is, however, under a deep sense of obligation to Mr. Henry Gale, who at the time of the excavations occupied the land on which the cemetery was discovered, and who has furnished information which has helped to clear up several obscure points.

The site of the cemetery is now marked on the Ordnance Survey map in a field called Castle Hill or Castle Field about three-quarters of a mile south-south-east of Wheatley village on high ground from which a wide prospect is obtainable across the railway running from Oxford to Princes Risborough and the Thame, at this point merely a brook, to the low-lying stretch

[1] *Proc. Birmingham Philosoph. Soc.* iv, pt. i, 179.

of country south of Brill. Southwards the ground rises to the village of Cuddesdon, where relics of the Anglo-Saxon period have also come to light, including the beautiful vases of blue glass[1] now in the British Museum. At the eastern end of the field at a lower level traces of a Roman villa were discovered in 1845 or 1846; they are described and figured in the *Archaeological Journal*, vol. ii, p. 350.

The Saxon cemetery was first brought to light by labourers employed in digging out stone which cropped up so high in places as to hinder steam-ploughing operations, and before the authorities of the Ashmolean Museum became aware of the fact, or arrangements could be made for careful supervision, a few skeletons in various conditions of preservation had been uncovered and disturbed. Of some of these no records of orientation or condition are available and only a few objects seem to have been saved. These passed into the hands of Mr. Henry Gale and were subsequently presented by him to the Ashmolean Museum.

They comprise two iron 'umbones' or shield-bosses, one of them originally having remains of four rivets. These are described in a letter from Mr. Gale as having silver-plated heads, which fell to pieces when touched. Only three of these rivets now remain and the plates seem to be wanting. The umbo itself, $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. high, has perpendicular walls with domed top terminating in a short spike with circular flattened head (fig. 3 *a*). This, like the rivet-heads, was probably covered by a silver plate. Of the second umbo there are only fragments, but these appear to indicate a shape similar to that of the last, and in this case the silver plates of the rivets are preserved.

In addition three iron spear-heads were saved. One is of an ordinary type, $9\frac{3}{4}$ in. long, with leaf-shaped blade (fig. 1 *b*); another has a very long narrow blade, $12\frac{1}{2}$ in. long, and only a portion of the socket is preserved, the total length now being $14\frac{1}{2}$ in. (fig. 1 *a*). A closely analogous spear-head, dredged from the river Thames some miles west of Oxford (Ashm. Mus., 1914, 83) has a blade $11\frac{1}{2}$ in. long and a total length of 15 in. The Wheatley example, however, is somewhat more slender. The third example differs from the usual Anglo-Saxon spear-head in that, instead of a split socket, it has a tang. The blade has lost its point and the tang is broken in halves (fig. 1 *f*). There were also one or two short iron knives, such as are frequently found in graves of men and women alike. Other objects found in this earlier period were part of a two-sided ivory comb (fig. 2), and a small roll of thin sheet-lead, of which the use and date are very doubtful, as also is the date of a fragment of bronze found during the principal excavations.

[1] J. Y. Akerman, *Pagan Saxondom*, pl. vi.

At this point the authorities of the Ashmolean Museum learnt of the discoveries, and steps were taken to obtain a record of the disposition of the various graves and their contents. Notes of the first few graves were kept by Mr. Gale himself, after which the excavations were superintended by a member of the Museum staff. It is not possible from these notes always to decide the orientation of the graves, since in many instances mention is made only of the direction in which the body faced, without stating on which side the body lay. Consequently in the appended list the orientation will often be found marked by a note of interrogation. The orientation thus adopted is that which may be regarded as most probable and which is suggested by certain facts particularly affecting the Wheatley cemetery itself. These last, however, can be left for consideration at a later point in this account. The notes begin on 29th January 1883, and continue with intervals to October 1884.

1. January 29th, 1883. 2 ft. deep; body facing ENE.; head SE.?; apparently a woman, with no teeth in jaws, and arms missing below the elbow; femur 16¾ in. long. Black mould and iron nails surrounded the bones, the remains of a coffin. No relics.

2. February 3rd. 2 ft. deep; body in crouching position facing N. with legs E. The skull lay between the knees; femur 19¼ in. long. No relics.

3. February 3rd. 1 ft. 6 in. deep; body facing E.; head S.? Bones very much perished. No relics.

4. February 5th to 10th. 1 ft. 6 in. deep; body facing NNE.; head SE.?; femur 16 in. long. No relics.

5. 1 ft. 6 in. deep; body facing N.; head W.?; femur 18½ in. one leg had suffered fracture. A spear-head 8⅞ in. long and 1 in. broad across the blade (fig. 1 *d*) lay 'crosswise above the head pointing West'. This last statement hardly fits in with the other observations. Possibly the skull had been somewhat displaced.

6. 1 ft. 6 in. deep; body in crouching position on right side facing NE.; head SE. Some parts of skeleton badly decayed. Behind the hips lay a small iron buckle in fragments. It is of an ordinary type with oval ring and oblong double back-plate, total length 2 in.

7. 1 ft. deep; body in crouching position on right side facing E.; head S.; arms bent with hands up to the chin; femur 17¾ in. long. A piece of dark grey gritty pottery, apparently not Saxon, lay behind the knees.

8. 1 ft. 6 in. deep; body on right side facing SE.; head SW.; femur 19¼ in. long. One and a half feet to the right of the head lay a patera of dark grey ware 2 in. high and 5⅝ in. in diameter. It is wheel-made and certainly of Romano-British fabric (fig. 3 *d*).

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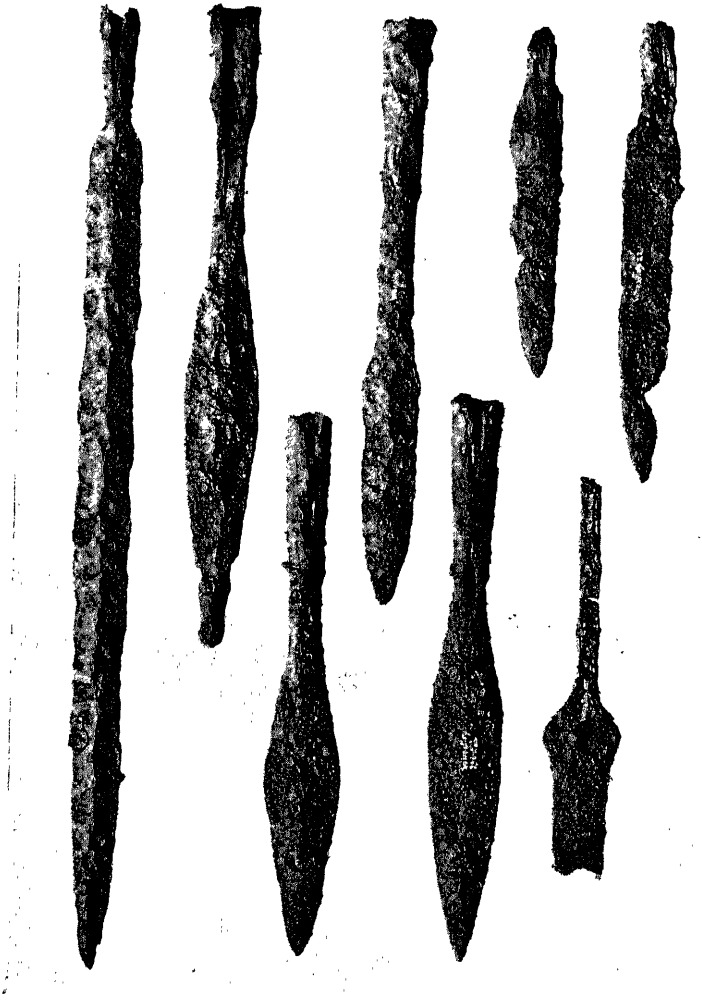


Fig. 1. IRON SPEAR-HEADS AND KNIVES FROM VARIOUS GRAVES, WHEATLEY. ($\frac{1}{3}$)

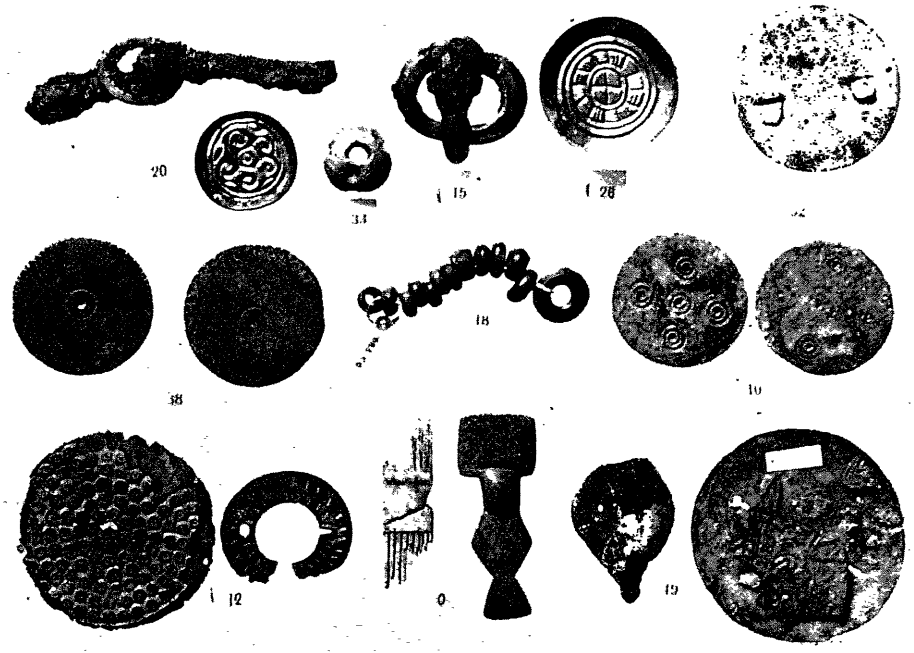


Fig. 2. BROOCHES, BUCKLE, BEADS, ETC., FROM VARIOUS GRAVES, WHEATLEY ($\frac{1}{2}$)
The numbers on the plate refer to the graves.

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9. 9 in. deep; body facing NE.; head S.? The skeleton had been disturbed by cultivation, since the skull lay 1 ft. deeper than the rest. No relics.

10. 1 ft. 3 in. deep; body facing NNE.; head SE.?; legs crossed at the knees; femur 18½ in. long. A circular bronze brooch on each shoulder (fig. 2); two amber beads and an iron knife on the breast; oval iron buckle at the right hip. The brooches are of the circular disc type, nearly 1½ in. in diameter, decorated with five bull's-eye circlets arranged in a cruciform design; one has its iron pin preserved.

11. February 14th. 3 ft. 6 in. deep; body facing E.; head S.?; femur 15½ in. long. No relics.

An iron knife 4½ in. long was found three feet to one side of grave No. 11, at a depth of three feet accompanied by a few small bones.

February 15th. Iron knife, 8¼ in. long, found with a few small bones at a depth of one and a half feet and ten to twelve feet away from any grave.

12. February 15th. 8 in. deep; child of five or six years of age; body facing E.; head S.?; skeleton very imperfect. On the breast a thin ornament of bronze 2⅛ in. in diameter, formed of two thin discs, the lower plain, the upper gilt ornamented with six concentric rings of small bosses in repoussé. This double disc has the appearance of having formed part of an 'applied' brooch, but no trace exists of a pin or pin-catch having been affixed to the back and the decoration is totally unlike any of the patterns usually employed on such brooches. There is a minute perforation which suggests that it may have been used as a pendant. In sifting the sand removed from above the skeleton there were found: (1) a ring-brooch *c.* 1½ in. in diameter, formed of a flat ring decorated with punch-marks. It has a perforation in the centre of one side to carry the pin, while opposite is a flanged notch in the inner margin of the ring, through which the pin was brought and secured by passing it over the flange on one side or the other; (2) a perforated incisor of boar or pig; (3) a fragment of an iron knife. The ornamental disc and the brooch are shown in fig. 2.

13. A skeleton about which no particulars are preserved. One valve of an oyster-shell by the elbow.

On the surface above this grave was found a small bronze square-headed brooch, 2⅛ in. long (fig. 2). The head-plate is decorated with five engraved circlets arranged in a quincunx; and other similar circlets are placed on the bow and at the lower end of the foot. It is not known from which grave it could have come.

14. February 23rd. 1 ft. deep; body facing N.; head W.?;

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femur 15¾ in. long. On the breast a pair of unusually large gilt bronze saucer-brooches;[1] they are engraved with a confused tangle of lines representing the last stages of early Anglo-Saxon zoomorphic ornament. Three unornamented triangles intersect the outer margin of the decoration at equidistant intervals. A fragment of linen still adheres to the surface of one of the brooches. On the neck was a string of thirty beads. Of these twenty-five are of amber, two of them being probably among the largest found in this country, reaching no less than 1½ in. in diameter. Two others are only a trifle smaller; the rest graduate rapidly down to quite a small size. Most are spheroidal, but there are some of irregular form, among them a large lentoid bead. In addition there are two polygonal crystal beads, the facets of which are very much worn, and lastly three beads of yellow glass paste decorated with red spots enclosed in two entwined lines, in one case red, in the other blue. The ground-colour of the two last is buff, of the first yellow.

On one finger of the left hand was a plain silver ring, made of a narrow band of metal joined at one point. Wound round the phalange on which the ring was set was a fragment of linen between the ring and the finger itself. An iron knife, 5¼ in. long, lay between the legs of the skeleton, and by it was an iron buckle, with a triangular back-plate, across the wider end of which is affixed a narrow strip of bronze. These other objects are shown in fig. 5.

It must be noted that one of the saucer-brooches described above is not included in the inventory of the grave, but was purchased at a later date from one of the workmen who declared it to have been found along with a pin, on the breast of a skeleton, before the excavations were taken in hand by the Museum. Since these saucer-brooches are usually, though by no means always, found in pairs, it is probable that the second brooch also came from this grave, a supposition which the extraordinary ornament tends to confirm. In that case the richness of the contents of the grave may well have included the remarkable ring-pin now to be described. It is of silver, 5¾ in. long, with a disc-shaped head, now imperfect, set in the same plane as the shaft. The head is gilt and decorated on one face with a border of punch-marks and curved rays in the same technique radiating from a central boss beaten out from the back (fig. 4). The upper end of the shaft is decorated with incised lines and flattened at the sides, to admit of a large perforation through which is passed

[1] One example is figured in Baron de Baye, *Industrial Arts of the Anglo-Saxons*, pt. viii, 1; *Archaeologia*, lxiii, pl. xxviii, 8; and Baldwin Brown, *The Arts in Early England*, iii, pl. lxix, 1.



a *b* *c* *d*

Fig. 3. UMBO AND VASES: WHEATLEY ($c. \frac{1}{5}$)

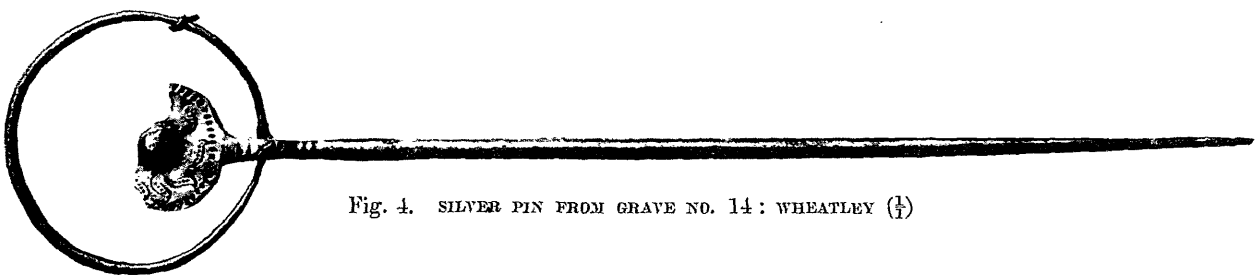


Fig. 4. SILVER PIN FROM GRAVE NO. 14: WHEATLEY ($\frac{1}{1}$)

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a large ring of silver wire, the ends of which were fastened together by a sliding knot.

15. February 24th. 1 ft. deep; no bones preserved. The contents of the grave comprised fragments of an umbo, apparently similar in type to that found before the principal excavations; the upper half of a one-edged knife, and the lower half of a small two-edged knife; oval buckle of tinned bronze with an iron core. It is of the regular Kentish type (fig. 2).

At this point the excavations were discontinued for a time. The area explored measured about 40 yds. in length and 24 yds. in width at the widest point. It is not said whether this area included the ground worked before the museum authorities learnt of the discoveries. About 11th April work was renewed and more graves were brought to light.

16. April 11th. 2 ft. deep; traces of a skeleton with head to the south, the arms extended straight by the sides. No relics.

17. April 18th. 1 ft. 6 in. deep; contracted position; oriented SW.–NE.; head to SW.; femur 17 in. long. Some 5 in. above the hips was found an iron knife, *c.* 5¾ in. long, with point uppermost.

18. April 19th. 1 ft. 6 in. deep; skeleton extended on back with crossed legs; head to S.; femur 16½ in. Lying on the breast in a straight line was a string of thirteen beads, one large, of black glass inlaid with green, a little over ½ in. in diameter, the rest of dark blue glass of half the size of the first (fig. 2). The large bead lay highest up on the breast. In the right hand a thin iron rod bent at the end and imperfect, probably part of a pin.

19. April 19th. 1 ft. 6 in. deep; contracted position, lying on right side facing E.; head to S.; femur 17 in. long. On the neck the remains of an applied brooch, 2½ in. in diameter, consisting of the plain back-plate and a portion of the gilded front-plate, embossed with decadent zoomorphic ornament; just below, a flat pear-shaped bronze pendant 1½ in. long with three small perforations towards the centre, as if something had originally been riveted on one face of the object (fig. 2). Near the back of the skull fragments of iron pin. This, as possibly also the similar object from grave 18, may be a hair-pin, the *acus discriminalis* of Bryan Faussett.

20. April 20th. 2 ft. deep; head to S.; rest of skeleton badly perished. On the right shoulder a gilt bronze saucer-brooch, 1 in. in diameter, decorated with a running-spiral pattern. By the ribs an amber bead, and a bronze ring, *c.* 1 in. in diameter, through which is passed a narrow slightly curved iron rod, *c.* 3 in. long (fig. 2). Fragments of cloth were found adhering

to the iron. This combination of ring and rod has the appearance of having served for some kind of fastening. A similar combination occurs in a later grave.

21. April 20th. 1 ft. 3 in. deep; oriented SW.-NE.; head at SW. end; the right hand by the side, the left across the body; femur 10½ in. long. By the left hip an iron knife 5¼ in. long.

22. April 23rd. 1 ft. 6 in. deep; skeleton lying with feet to NE. and head to S.; both hands by the right side; femur 17½ in. long. In the right hand an iron knife, 7 in. long (fig. 1 *h*).

23. April 24th. 1 ft. 8 in. deep; apparently of a child lying in contracted position on its right side with head to S.; femur 8½ in. long. Behind the head was a small vase of plain black hand-made pottery 3¾ in. high and 3½ in. in diameter (fig. 3 *b*); on the neck two small amber beads.

24. April 24th. 1 ft. 7 in. deep; bones perished. Two portions of an iron knife, one by the ribs and one by the knees.

25. April 24th. 1 ft. 5 in. deep. The skeleton lay on its left side with the head to S. and knees to E.; femur 14 in. long. Two pieces of iron (parts of a buckle ?) above the hips.

26. April 25th. 1 ft. 6 in. deep. Body laid on the back with head to SE. and arms by the sides; femur 10 in. long. Two iron fragments by the hips, and five fragments by the left shoulder. On the neck a gilt bronze saucer-brooch, *c.* 1½ in. in diameter, with an iron pin and decorated with a geometric pattern (fig. 2); remains of cloth adhered to the back. Across the neck nine small amber beads.

27. April 25th. 2 ft. deep. Body laid on the back with the head to S.; both hands in the lap; femur 16 in. long. The relics (fig. 6) in this grave were found lying in a squarish mass between the left arm and the ribs, which led the excavators to surmise the original presence of a toilet-chest or the like. Amongst this mass were the remains of a necklace consisting of sixty-one amber beads of various shapes and sizes, mostly small; the rest are of glass or glass-paste comprising one cuboid, white with green borders and red spots; one circular and flattish, black inlaid with a wavy line of white; two similar, dark blue; two cylinders, one green and one yellow, and eleven pale-green single, double or triple pearl-beads. In addition there were two small Roman coins, one of Constans and one of Constantius II, also two perforated canines of ? dog or wolf and a small boar-tusk. In the same position were a bronze ear-pick, a little over 3 in. long with a flattened perforated end, two bronze disc-brooches, 1¼ in. in diameter, with iron pins and decorated with an incised bull's-eye circlet at the centre; a fragment of thin

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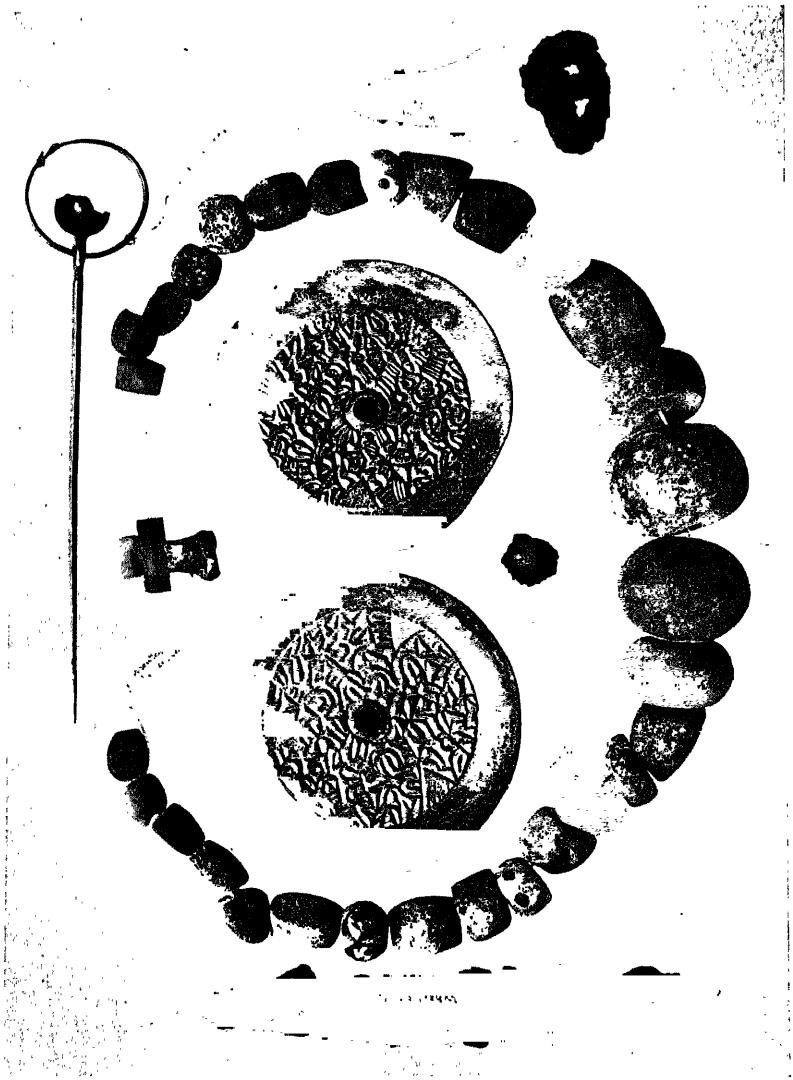


Fig. 5. OBJECTS FROM GRAVE NO. 14 : WHEATLEY (½)

sheet-bronze, decorated with semicircular punch-marks and perforated at two corners with a wire ring fastened in one of the holes; a triangular bronze plate with a large perforation at each corner and a fourth in the middle of the longest side, which is $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. long, and decorated with a border of large pellets embossed from the back. Further, a flat iron rod, $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. long, slightly curved, turned over into a loop at either end. The rod passes through a ring made of bronze wire twisted together at the ends. Its purpose is uncertain, but it bears a remarkable resemblance to the object already described under grave 20. Equally mysterious is what appears to be a half section of a hollow bronze ring, $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. in diameter. Adhering to it now are iron-rust and traces of cloth.

A portion of a pin of bronze wire formed with a large loop at the upper end and a swan-neck bend just below. It is a type which goes back to the Early Iron Age in Schleswig-Holstein, and is not uncommon in this country in the Late Celtic period and later. Two analogous specimens come from the Celto-Roman site at Woodeaton, only some seven miles north-west of the Wheatley cemetery.

Next come the half of a slightly concave circular object of tinned bronze 1 in. in diameter, of uncertain use; a small spiral of oval bronze wire, probably a bead; a small bronze weight (?), $\frac{7}{16}$ in. in diameter;[1] two iron rings, one a split-ring, *c.* $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. in diameter, and a fragment of pale-green glass with a projecting boss. Lastly six fragments of iron, among them the head of a looped pin and part of a fastening of some sort with remains of two rivets. There is nothing amongst the above objects definitely to prove the existence of a toilet-chest, unless it be the bronze plates, though even the iron object with the bronze ring may conceivably have formed the hasp and catch of such a box.

28. April 26th. 2 ft. 6 in. deep; body lying on the back with the head to S.; both hands in lap; femur 17 in. long. On the right side of the breast a bronze bodkin with the eye broken away; by the left hip an iron knife $5\frac{3}{4}$ in. long; above the head, two pieces of sheet-bronze doubled together with remains of wood riveted in between, and a bronze clip embedded in a mass of oxidized iron; by the waist fragments of an iron buckle and miscellaneous fragments of iron, apparently parts of a bunch of keys, and the spirally-wound bezel of a finger ring better known by examples in silver and bronze.

29. May 7th. 1 ft. 1 in. deep; body of a child lying in

[1] Its weight is 39 grains. On the question of weights from Anglo-Saxon graves, see Baldwin Brown, *op. cit.* iv. 417 H.

a contracted position on the left side with head to S. No relics.

30. May 8th. 1 ft. 3 in. deep immediately underneath grave 29; body lying on the back with head to E.; both hands in lap. The total length of the body is given as 4 ft. An iron knife, 4½ in. long, lay under the left armpit.

31. May 16th. 10 in. deep; body lying on the back with the head to S.; the right hand on the breast, the left on the groin. No relics.

32. May 17th. 11 in. deep; body lying on the back with head to S.; the left leg straight, the right bent upwards at the knee; the left arm across the breast; the lower part of the right arm covering the face with the hand above the left shoulder. On the right shoulder a bronze 'applied' brooch, 1¾ in. in diameter, of which only the back-plate with the fastenings and remains of the iron pin are preserved (fig. 2). In front of the mouth bronze tweezers, 1½ in. long, with a fragment of the suspensory ring, and a small amber bead. By the pelvis an iron knife 5¾ in. long.

33. May 18th. 8 in. deep; body of a child, lying on the back with head to SW. By the left hip an iron knife 4⅝ in. long; on the breast a bone bead made from the head of a femur of small size.

Two leaf-shaped iron spear-heads, 8 in. and 8½ in. long respectively (fig. 1 *c* and *e*), were found near grave 33 in filling in the excavation on 29th May, but it was uncertain to which grave they belonged.

34. May 24th. 10 in. deep; body lying on the back with head to SW.; both arms by the sides. By the right shoulder and the right wrist portions of what appear to be the pans, 1⅛ in. in diameter, of a pair of scales. Of one pan sufficient is preserved to show two perforations. On the breast a fragment of an iron pin (?) with a looped end. Scales are not uncommon in Anglo-Saxon graves. Both Douglas[1] and Faussett[2] met with them in Kent, the latter in a grave at Gilton which also contained a series of weights partly manufactured out of Roman coins. Yet another pair was found with a man's skeleton at Long Wittenham in grave 80.[3]

Various fragments of urns of the usual Anglo-Saxon types, some decorated, were found from time to time during the excavations, but not in connexion with any grave.

At this point the exploration of the cemetery was discontinued and nothing further was done until the autumn of the following

[1] *Nenia Britannica*, p. 33, pl. xii, fig. 9.
[2] *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, p. 23, pl. xvii, figs. 2 and 3.
[3] *Archaeologia*, xxxviii, p. 344, and fig.

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Fig. 6. OBJECTS FROM GRAVE NO. 27 : WHEATLEY ($\frac{1}{2}$)

year, when fresh investigations were instituted, and more graves were uncovered. These are numbered in continuance of the earlier series.[1]

35. October 4th, 1884. 1 ft. deep; body lying on the back with head to E.; the right hand in the lap, the left on the breast; femur 15½ in. long. Although the right clavicle was stained green by contact with oxidizing bronze, no trace of a brooch or other object was discovered.

36. October 4th. 1 ft. deep; body lying in contracted position with head to SE. and legs crossed; the left hand in the lap, the right by the side; femur 17 in. long. No relics.

37. October 6th. 1 ft. 10 in. deep. Skeleton very much perished; head to S. Length of skeleton as placed in the grave 5 ft. 10 in. No relics.

38. October 7th. 1 ft. 7 in. deep; body lying on the back with head to SW.; the left hand in the lap; the right by the side; femur 15 in. long. Two bronze disc-brooches, 1½ in. in diameter with high catch-plates and traces of iron pins, and decorated with a notched border and a central bull's-eye circlet, found one on the right shoulder, the other by the left side (fig. 2). On the breast a portion of an iron pin with looped head. By the left hip an iron knife, 5¼ in. long, with considerable remains of wood on the tang (fig. 1 *g*). A small pearl-bead of whitish glass was found under the skeleton.

39. October 11th. Fragments of a small vase found with a few bones at a depth of 8 in. These have since been put together and form a small Romano-British vase of light grey ware, 2¾ in. high and 3⅜ in. in diameter (fig. 3 *c*).

40. October 11th. 1 ft. 6 in. deep; skeleton very much perished, with feet pointing to W. No relics.

41. October 13th. 2 ft. 6 in. deep; body lying in a closely contracted position with the knees drawn up under the chin; head to E.; femur 17 in. long. Underneath the skeleton part of an iron knife-blade 2½ in. long.

42. October 14th. 1 ft. deep; body (of a child) lying on back with the head to SE.; both hands in the lap; femur 9½ in. long. No relics.

[1] Mr. Kenward in his account states that fifty-eight graves were opened up to 24th May 1883, twenty-four of them before 29th January 1883, when the Ashmolean authorities began the work. This seems to be due to a misapprehension. Not until 11th April was the work actually taken over by the Ashmolean authorities. The notes of the first fifteen graves opened after 29th January are in Mr. Gale's handwriting, and the figure twenty-four mentioned by Mr. Kenward is made up of these fifteen and the estimated number found before news of the discoveries was brought to the Ashmolean Museum. There is evidently a confusion between the work done for and done by the museum.

43. October 14th. At a depth of 2½ ft. the calvarium of a skull was found, but with no traces of any other parts of a skeleton. Below it was a piece of charcoal.

44. October 16th. 8 in. deep; skeleton perished and broken by cultivation, lying on the right side in a contracted position; femur 17 in. long. The orientation is not recorded. No relics.

45. October 23rd. 2 ft. deep; body lying on its face with the head to SW. and legs bent back at the knees to E.; femur 16 in. long. No relics.

46. October 24th. 2 ft. deep; body lying on the back with the head to NE.; bones very much perished. No relics.

It is manifest from the above account that the cemetery was not that of a rich community. Indeed, only one grave, namely no. 14, shows any pretensions to wealth, and those of a distinctly ostentatious nature. The huge vulgar saucer-brooches overloaded with a jumble of meaningless ornament and the enormous amber beads certainly suggest the wife of some petty local magnate. Only one other grave contained relics in any quantity, but they are by no means striking. Yet in spite of the relative poverty of the cemetery, as compared with others from Kent and elsewhere or even from the Thames Valley, such as Long Wittenham, Brighthampton or Fairford, the results of the excavations carried out at Wheatley offer several points of interest which are worthy of consideration in view of the fact that this cemetery must be brought into close connexion with a recorded event of Anglo-Saxon history, namely the battle of Bedcanford in A.D. 571 with the subsequent fall of Aegelesbyrig, Bensingtun, Egonesham, and Leaganbyrig which are generally admitted to represent the modern town of Aylesbury and the villages of Benson, Eynsham, and Lenbury (or Luton). For it is self-evident that, if the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle is to be accepted even with the reservation that is now usual, settlements could hardly have been possible up the valley of the Thame, so long as Benson on the east bank of the Thames remained unsubdued only three miles from the junction of the two rivers.

It is natural to expect, therefore, that the Wheatley cemetery should be comparatively late and that in consequence the objects discovered should contain in themselves some evidence to confirm that idea. To take the most conspicuous objects first, the large saucer-brooches. In a paper read before the Society in 1912 the writer showed that they belong to a group of brooches within this class, the antecedents of which may be traced back to the jewelled brooches of Kent, and that this diffusion of

Kentish influence may be ascribed, in part at least, to the extension of Aethelbert's power at the close of the sixth century, and in any case to the springing up of peaceful relations between the invading tribes, once the settlements had become firmly established.[1] It is even possible that all the very large saucer-brooches belong entirely to the seventh century, copying not only the Kentish motives but also the size of specimens such as the Kingston Down brooch[2] or, to go less far afield, the two jewelled brooches found near Abingdon.[3] Nor are other Kentish signs lacking. Of the buckles discovered, one from grave no. 15 is a well-known Kentish type and almost certainly of Kentish fabric, while the iron example from grave no. 14 with its triple-riveted triangular back-plate can be closely paralleled from Jutish cemeteries.

Of the large saucer-brooches known, five others come from the group of cemeteries in the Thame Valley. They were found at Stone (1) and Ashendon (2) just across the borders of Buckinghamshire,[4] and the Ashendon brooches furnish good examples of the linear decoration which has been used on the saucer-brooch from grave no. 26 at Wheatley, and yet another pair from Dorchester just at the junction of the Thame and Thames show similar ornament.[5] Besides the above there is another pair from Long Wittenham, Berks., on the right bank of the Thames almost opposite the mouth of the Thame,[6] and a single example from Standlake, Oxfordshire, only a few miles westwards.[7] All these show in a marked degree the influence of the Kentish wedge-garnet technique.

One of the more unusual objects from this cemetery is the silver pin which is tentatively assigned to grave no. 14. It appears to be unique amongst Anglo-Saxon relics both in point of style and in form. The decoration of the head is essentially Saxon and the bossed centre recalls the treatment of the heads of gold pins from Roundway Down, Wilts. and Kent.[8] But the passing of a ring through the shaft is certainly not a Saxon feature. Pins with ringed heads are not unknown from graves of this period. Professor Baldwin Brown figures a small one from Kent and a larger but later example from Brixworth, Northants, but justly remarks that they are 'Celtic rather than

[1] *Archaeologia*, lxiii. 193.
[2] Roach Smith, *Faussett's Inventorium Sepulchrale* (frontispiece).
[3] Baldwin Brown, *The Arts in Early England*, iv, pl. cxlv.
[4] Akerman, *Pagan Saxondom*, pl. xxxviii.
[5] *Archaeologia*, xxxviii, 334.
[6] *Ibid.* xxxviii, 17 (grave 71); pl. xix, fig. 2.
[7] *Ibid.* lxiii, pl. xxviii, fig. 7.
[8] Baldwin Brown, *op. cit.* iii, pl. lxxxi, 4 and 6.

Germanic in character'.[1] Reference to the illustrations of pins with ringed heads in the Guide to the Celtic antiquities in the National Museum, Dublin, will demonstrate this point. A nearer parallel to the Wheatley pin, however, in point of arrangement of details is provided by a pin, probably somewhat later in date, figured in the *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 5th ser., vol. xix, p. 297, where there is a flat head of different form but also in the same plane as the shaft, and the ring is placed somewhat lower. The twisted ring can also be paralleled by other Celtic examples.

Though Celtic objects in Saxon cemeteries are by no means uncommon, they are for the most part survivals, such as the bronze terrets of well-known 'Late-Celtic' form found at Fairford and elsewhere, or the pin with ringed head and with swan-neck bend in grave no. 27. Apart from the Celtic enamelled escutcheons on bowls, contemporary Celtic objects are rarer; the penannular brooch with thistle terminals from the High Down Cemetery, Sussex, is a case in point.[2] Survivals or contemporary objects may well be expected, but more important in the history of the mutual relationships between the invaders and the natives are the class of objects to which this pin belongs.

No one, it is presumed, nowadays places explicit belief in the querulous statements of Gildas about the total extermination of the populace. On the contrary, the belief is growing and will grow further still that there was a not inconsiderable survival of the native population in the conquered territory, though for the most part living within the valleys and districts more retired from the main lines of intercommunication. We may instance the presence of two race-types noted in the second excavations in the cemetery at East Shefford, in the heart of the Berkshire Downs, by Messrs. H. J. E. Peake and E. A. Hooton.[3] The authors remark, 'We seem to be dealing with the two first generations of invaders, and it is to be noted that all those over forty years of age are of one or other of the pure types, while of those showing intermediate characteristics none exceeded the age of twenty-five.'

The Wheatley cemetery, though perhaps in a lesser degree, occupies much the same position as that at East Shefford in

[1] The Brixworth pin cannot be reckoned as representative of early Anglo-Saxon work; Mr. T. J. George has informed the writer that it was found with a coin of Cuthred (A.D. 789–805) and therefore belongs rather to the late Saxon period, with the art of which its decoration shows closer affinity.

[2] *Archaeologia*, liv, pl. ix, 5.

[3] *Journ. Royal Anthrop. Instit.* xlv. 107.

relation to the line of the river Thames, that river being regarded as the main line of communication in this region.

If the conclusions about the comparatively early date of the East Shefford burials are correct, it is a little astonishing to find that the majority of the graves discovered during the second excavations were oriented E. to W. or approximately so. Turning now to the Wheatley cemetery and bearing in mind the signs of apparently late date above noticed, it is at least strange that the orientation of the graves does not fit in with such a conclusion, that is to say, if the position with the head to the W. is to be accepted at all as evidence of Christianity or its influence. In the Wheatley cemetery this position is only conspicuous by its scarcity. A conspectus of the known orientation gives the following results. Alternative numbers are given in brackets, since in some cases, owing to the ambiguity of the records, it is not easy to say which of two alternative positions is to be chosen:

North-east, one; east, four (?5); south-east, four (?7); south, fourteen (?17); south-west, seven; and west, two (?3). By far the larger number, therefore, vary between south-east and south-west, the southern orientation predominating. This is strangely at variance with the observations in the large cemetery at Long Wittenham, where no less than ninety-six graves out of a total of 188 were oriented west and fifty-four of the remainder south-west.

It is evident, therefore, that too much stress must not be laid on these differences of orientation. Professor Baldwin Brown has discussed the whole question at some length.[1] While admitting the possible Christian motives underlying westerly orientation, and also agreeing with W. M. Wylie's opinion that a south to north position is the prevailing pagan Teuton practice, yet he shows that orientation is by no means a safe criterion of date.

Perhaps a safer criterion of date is provided by the absence of all signs of cremation. This rite certainly occurs at Long Wittenham and even at Kingsey, some miles farther up the Thame Valley, but the evidence seems to show that the proportion of cremation burials to those by inhumation decreases, the further advanced the settlements lie up the valleys of the Thames and its tributaries, and thus the absence of the former rite may be taken to represent a corresponding advance of time in the history of the invaders.

There is, however, another important feature of the Wheatley cemetery which must not be omitted. Out of thirty-four graves for which data are available, seventeen contained extended and

[1] *The Arts in Early England*, iii. 158 f.

nine more or less contracted burials. To these must be added six doubtful examples in the first class and one in the second. Professor Baldwin Brown remarks that 'as a general rule the crouching position is quite exceptional among the interments',[1] the classic instance to the contrary being the cemetery at Sleaford, Lincolnshire, where, out of 240 graves, in all but about a dozen the body lay in a doubled position.

It is possible that in some cases at Wheatley the position which is described as 'sitting' may not represent more than a certain degree of flexure of the legs, but at any rate they are not laid on their backs as is the usual practice.[2] Unlike prehistoric burials, or the Anglian cemetery of Sleaford, where they were placed in front of the face, at Wheatley the hands are generally described as 'lying in the lap'. Again at Sleaford, except in one instance, the bodies lay on the left side; at Wheatley four lay on the right side, three on the left, and two are doubtful.

The question remains, how far may contracted burial as at Sleaford, itself perhaps a late cemetery, be regarded as evidence of a surviving element of the earlier population. At Wheatley the presence of such an element, though possibly only in the past, is vouched for by the Romano-British vases found in graves 8 and 39, as also by grave 1 where signs of a coffin were observed, such as occurred in several graves in the mixed cemetery at Frilford. It should be noted that in both cases Roman villas have been found in close proximity. These, however, are no doubt considerably earlier in date, and how much of them remained when the Saxons settled in the two places is impossible to say.

An examination of the skeletal remains might have resulted in conclusions similar to those arrived at by Messrs. H. J. E. Peake and E. A. Hooton in regard to the cemetery at East Shefford. Unfortunately, although some of the bones were submitted to Dr. Garson for examination and full report, no report exists and the present whereabouts of the bones themselves is for the moment a mystery. Some of the earliest discovered objects together with some of the skeletal remains were exhibited by Mr. Park Harrison at a meeting of the Royal Anthropological Institute, of which a brief report is given in the *Athenaeum* of 29th February 1884 (p. 254). The account there given contains the following passage: 'The skulls were of two types and belonged to subjects who had been interred for the most part in a flexed or contracted position, but some were at full length.'

[1] *Op. cit.* iii. 154.

[2] Cp. a similar doubtful case at Ellesborough (*Records of Bucks*, ix. 425).

Do the 'two types of skulls' suggest two races? If so, it may be assumed that here, as at East Shefford and probably many other places too, were the data complete, there was a considerable survival of Romano-British stock, absorbed, as might be expected, by the invaders, after the first wave of exterminating violence had worn itself out.

One curious burial remains to be noticed, namely no. 45, where the body was laid face downwards. This can be paralleled by the group of burials at Cuddesdon, where the bodies lay arranged in a circle and on their faces.

The general conclusions to be obtained from the remains from Wheatley are that it represents one of a group of cemeteries in the Thame Valley, all comparatively late in date. Trade with other tribal communities had been established, as evidenced by the signs of Kentish influence. In addition to those from Wheatley, attention may be called to the fine blue glass vases from Cuddesdon and a funnel-shaped glass vase from Dinton.[1] Such earlier signs as exist, e. g. the Romano-British vases from Wheatley, the cremation burials at Kingsey, the swords and the early belt-plate[2] from Bishopstone, must either be regarded as survivals or as the customs or possessions of the conquering Saxons at the time of their first penetration of the valley and at the same time as indicative of the approximate limits of their penetration in this particular direction.

The PRESIDENT said the report, however belated, was welcome to the Society. The excavations took place before he was connected with the Ashmolean Museum, but he was able to see the completion of the work. The main description and conclusions drawn would be generally accepted; and the cemetery was specially interesting as a fairly late instance of the survival of Celtic and Roman features. The earliest Teutonic remains in the country had been found not far off at Dorchester on the Thames: they corresponded to the moor-finds of Schleswig and dated from the end of the fourth century. The Frilford and Wheatley finds dated between the occupation of Dorchester and the capture of the Four Towns in 571. The Long Wittenham stoup showed that Christianity had made headway, and he was not persuaded that the cruciform pattern on the brooches was not due to Christian influence. The coins and pottery showed that some of the Romanized women, at any rate, remained in the conquered district. The most remarkable find at Wheatley was the pin with a ring round the disc-head, clearly a Celtic type, developed later in Ireland. Altogether the cemetery had done

[1] Baldwin Brown, *op. cit.* iv. 658.
[2] *Ibid.* iv, pl. clv, 1.

much to complete the archaeological evidence regarding the various strata of population in the dark days of Pagan Saxondom. Mr. Leeds had on previous occasions made valuable contributions on similar lines and had shown that some of the jewellery was actually copied from Kentish models.

Mr. REGINALD SMITH said that exhibits from museums were specially welcome to the Society, and he was sure that the action of the Ashmolean authorities would be fully recognized. The Wheatley skulls had been examined by Dr. Garson, who described them as larger and more massive than those from the Mitcham cemetery (*Proceedings*, xxi, 10). It was interesting to note that the large debased saucer-brooches belonged to a grave with Christian orientation, whereas the majority lay with the head at the south end. All were no doubt West Saxon, but he was inclined to think the small saucer-brooch with running scrolls and the pottery fragments with knobs belonged to an earlier stage of the Teutonic conquest than the paper indicated, and should be compared with foreign types.[1] If the large brooches with garnet centre were due to Kentish models, a similar explanation would be necessary for some found outside that sphere of influence.

Professor OMAN had been associated with the excavations, but saw very little found. The matter he wished to draw attention to was purely historical. Recent exploration and the arguments adduced in Mr. Leeds's book[2] made it clear that the idea of Ceawlin conquering Britons in 571 must be completely surrendered. If the Saxons were well established in the district a century before that date, it was incredible that the Four Towns were taken from the Britons at the date alleged. Bensington (Benson) had a purely Saxon name; and Dorchester, which lay within a mile of it, must have been occupied by the first Teutonic invaders. The petty chiefs put down in 571 must have been mixed Saxons, possibly the Chilternsaetas. The maps in J. R. Green's *Making of England* were therefore imaginary, the Saxon line being really much farther west. The Wheatley cemetery was pre-Christian, and should not be looked upon merely as a late addition to the Anglo-Saxon settlement in the Thames Valley.

Mr. DALE was of opinion that the shield-rivets were not of silver as stated, but of white-metal. Professor Gowland had pronounced similar specimens from Droxford, Hants, to be

[1] e. g. J. H. Müller, *Vor- und frühgeschichtliche Alterthümer der Provinz Hannover*, pl. xxi, no. 199, and pl. xxii, no. 212.

[2] *The Archaeology of the Anglo-Saxon Settlements* (Oxford, 1913).

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BRONZE CLASP FOR A GIRDLE, GIUBIASCO, SWITZERLAND ($\frac{1}{2}$)

mixed metal: the same site yielded spear-heads longer than any exhibited. The large beads strung on a necklace were, in his opinion, spindle-whorls; and the absence of swords confirmed the poverty of the deposit.

Mr. LEEDS held, in reply, that the pattern of the small saucer-brooch was similar to specimens from Stone and Ashendon, Bucks, and all were approximately contemporary. He could not entirely endorse Professor Oman's view of the battle of Bedford, though the names were admittedly a difficulty. Perhaps the Anglo-Saxon chronicler applied the later names to what were originally British or Roman settlements; in any case he thought there was a certain Romano-British element in the district at the time.

The PRESIDENT added, with regard to a British survival in the Chilterns, that a Stow MS. spoke of the inhabitants of Great Kimble in the eighth century as Cymbelingas, surely a Celtic name.

O. C. RAPHAEL, Esq., F.S.A., exhibited a bronze clasp for a girdle from an Early Iron Age cemetery at Giubiasco, Switzerland (see illustration).

The PRESIDENT remarked that a similar specimen in Athens Museum, supposed to be from a prehistoric burial in Greece, had been derived from Italy.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for this communication and exhibition.

THURSDAY, 18th JANUARY 1917.

Sir CHARLES HERCULES READ, LL.D., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The following gifts were announced, and thanks for the same ordered to be returned to the donors:

From the Author:—Harfleur: some notes on its district, history, town, and church. By E. Kitson Clark, F.S.A. 8vo. Leeds, 1916.

From the Author:—The Roman road from Ribchester to Low Bridge, near Tebay, and the first stage of the Roman road from Ribchester to York. By Percival Ross. 8vo. Bradford, 1916.

From the Author:—The walks and avenues of Dorchester, when and by whom planted. By Alfred Pope, F.S.A. 8vo. Dorchester, 1916.

From the Author:—A history of St. Mary's Church, Walthamstow. By G. F. Bosworth. 4to. Walthamstow, 1916.

Votes of thanks were passed to the Editors of *The Athenæum*, *The Builder*, *Notes and Queries*, and *Country Life* for the gift of their publications during the past year.

This being an evening appointed for the election of Fellows, no papers were read.

Ralph Griffin, Esq., F.S.A., exhibited and presented a collection of photographs of the vault of the Divinity School, Oxford, and thanks were voted to him for this present.

W. L. Hildburgh, Esq., F.S.A., exhibited a brass astrolabe with additional plates; a brass mathematical instrument for measuring angles; a bronze lion, probably Flemish work of the late fifteenth century; a bronze object, probably Ibero-Roman, from Northern Spain; some bronze fragments of the Merovingian period, and a Gallo-Roman bronze statuette of Hercules.

Ralph Griffin, Esq., F.S.A., exhibited four small panels of stained glass.

Thanks were returned for these exhibitions.

The ballot opened at 8.45 p.m. and closed at 9.30 p.m., when the following were declared duly elected Fellows of the Society:

Henry Lennox Hopkinson, Esq., M.A., LL.B.
Rev. Herbert Francis Westlake, M.A.
Laurence Arthur Turner, Esq.
Colonel Sir Richard Temple, Bt., C.B., C.I.E.
Captain Annesley Tyndale Warre.
Gavin Heynes Jack, Esq.
Ian Campbell Hannah, Esq., M.A.

Thursday, 25th January 1917.

WILLIAM PAGE, Esq., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The Reverend Herbert Francis Westlake, M.A., was admitted a Fellow.

On the nomination of the President, the following were appointed Auditors of the Society's accounts for 1916:

Francis William Pixley, Esq.
Jerome Nugent Bankes, Esq.
Montague Spencer Giuseppi, Esq.
Percival Davis Griffiths, Esq.

Sir EDWARD WILLIAM BRABROOK, C.B., Director, made the following communication supplementary to his paper in *Archaeologia* (lxii, 72) with regard to Matthew Raper, Director from 1810 to 1813.

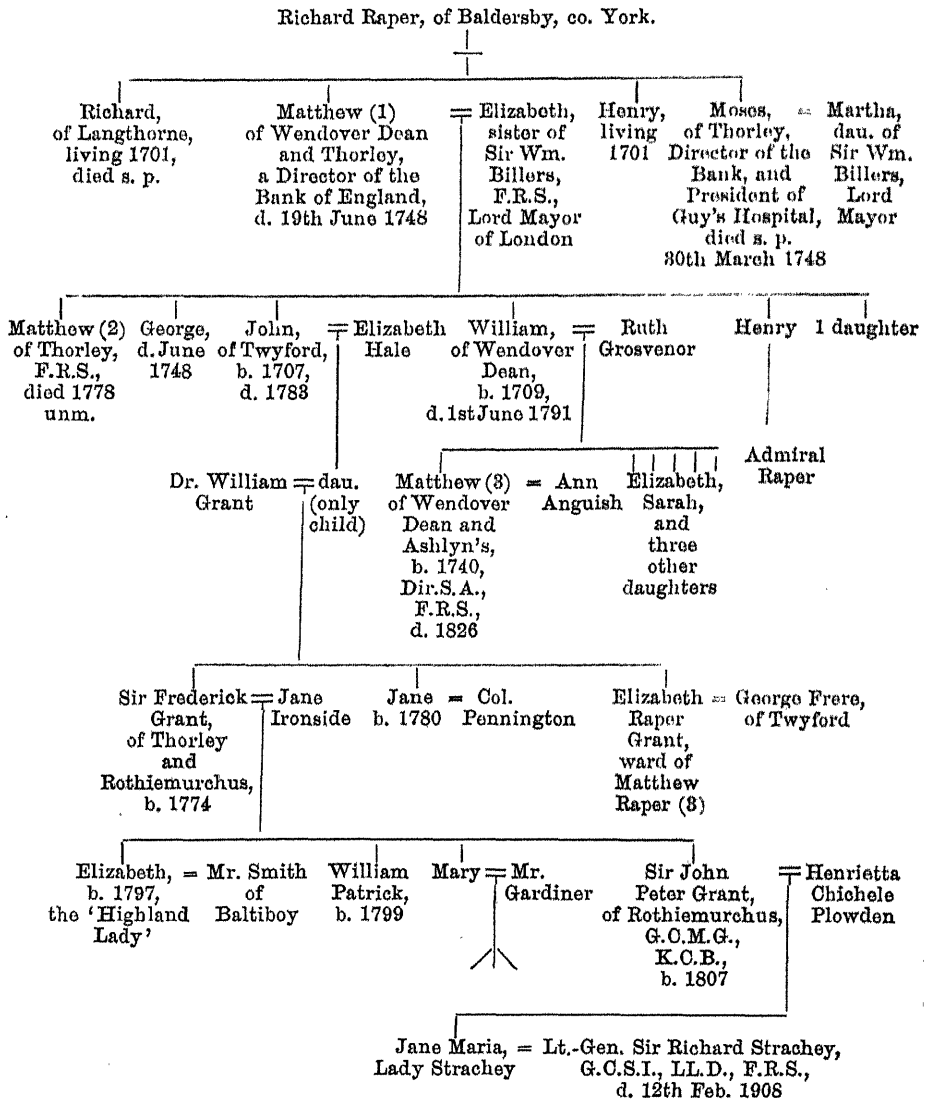
Since writing my paper about the Directors, I have had the pleasure to read a book edited by Lady Strachey, compiled from the papers of her aunt, Mrs. Elizabeth Smith, *née* Grant, and entitled *Memoirs of a Highland Lady*, in which Mr. Matthew Raper, one of our Directors, is referred to as a connexion of her family. I wrote to Lady Strachey, who most kindly supplied me with further particulars. Matthew Raper was of Wendover Dean, co. Bucks, and Ashlyn's Hall, co. Hants. He was descended from Richard Raper, of Baldersby, co. York, whose grandson Matthew (1) was the common ancestor of Mrs. Smith and Lady Strachey through his son John of Twyford, and of Mr. Matthew Raper (3) through his son William of Wendover Dean.

Our Director appears to have had influential city connexions, his father William, his grandfather Matthew (1), and his great-uncle Moses having all been Directors of the Bank. The two last named married relatives of Sir William Billers, F.R.S. (1726), who was Sheriff of London and Middlesex 1720, Lord Mayor 1733, and a Director of the East India Company. Matthew Raper (3) served the office of High Sheriff of Hampshire in 1791. He was guardian of Elizabeth Raper Grant, granddaughter of John Raper of Twyford, sister of Sir Frederick Grant of Thorley and Rothiemurchus, and wife of George Frere of Twyford. I was correct in my guess that Matthew Raper was born in 1740. He was elected a Fellow in 1785 and died in Wimpole Street on 26th November 1826, aged 86. He married Ann Anguish, who was probably a daughter of Thomas Anguish, F.R.S. (1766). Lipscombe describes him as son of Matthew (1) and also as son of Moses, but he was really son of William.

The DIRECTOR also read a paper entitled 'Bicentenary observations on antiquarian longevity'.

The design of the paper was (1) to make a slight contribution to the history of the Society on the occurrence of the first meeting for reading papers in the 200th year after its reorganization in 1717; (2) to support the opinion that the study of antiquity tended to longevity. The Society's first founders were enumerated. Thirty-three Fellows had been identified as successively becoming Senior Fellow, or 'Father' of the Society, and a brief record of the career of each of them was given. Among them were distinguished public servants, renowned secretaries of the

PEDIGREE OF RAPER AND GRANT.



Society, great county historians, indefatigable collectors, and other good men, some of whom attained the age of 98, the average age of the whole group being 86. There were 18 Fellows now living of 45 years' standing and more, the average of whose ages (where known) was 84 years. One admired Fellow was nearly a centenarian.

The following Table is believed to be a complete list of the Fathers of the Society, with in each case the date of birth, the date of election as a Fellow, the date of death, the age attained, and the number of years' fellowship of the Society.

Name.	*Born.*	*Elected F.S.A.*	*Died.*	*Age attained.*	*Years in the Society.*
1. William Stukeley, M.D., F.R.S.	1687	1717	1765	78	48
2. Thomas Martin	1697	1720	1771	74	51
3. Charles Mordaunt, Bt. . .	1696	1721	1778	82	57
4. Charles Frederick, K.B., F.R.S.	1709	1732	1785	76	53
5. John Eardley Wilmot, C.J. .	1709	1745	1792	83	47
6. Samuel Reynardson, F.R.S. .	1704	1748	1797	93	49
7. Francis Annesley, LL.D. . .	1734	1759	1812	78	53
8. Edward Hasted, F.R.S. . .	1732	1763	1812	80	49
9. James Bindley	1737	1765	1818	81	53
10. Joseph Cradock	1742	1768	1826	84	58
11. William Sheldon . . .	1743	1769	1830	87	61
12. William Bray	1736	1771	1832	96	61
13. John Martin Leake . . .	1739	1773	1835	96	62
14. Alleyne, Lord St. Helens . .	1753	1777	1839	86	62
15. John St. Aubyn, Bt. . . .	1758	1783	1839	81	56
16. Charles, Lord Arden . . .	1756	1784	1840	84	56
17. Thomas Barrett Lennard, Bt. .	1762	1785	1857	95	72
18. John, Lord Northwick . .	1770	1800	1859	89	59
19. Richard Fowler, M.D., F.R.S. .	1765	1802	1863	98	61
20. John David Macbride, D.C.L. .	1770	1805	1868	98	63
21. Henry Ellis, K.H., F.R.S. . .	1777	1807	1869	92	62
22. William, Earl of Lonsdale, F.R.S.	1787	1808	1872	85	64
23. George Ormerod, D.C.L., F.R.S.	1785	1809	1873	88	64
24. Thomas Henry Graham . .	1793	1814	1881	88	66
25. Anthony Salvin	1799	1824	1881	82	57
26. Thomas Hayward Southby . .	1801	1826	1889	88	63
27. George Thomas, Earl of Albemarle	1799	1827	1891	92	63
28. Thomas William Fletcher, F.R.S.	1810	1836	1893	83	56
29. William Cooper Cooper . .	1810	1838	1898	88	60
30. Augustus William Gadesdon .	1816	1840	1901	85	61
31. James Cove Jones . . .	1822	1845	1910	88	65
32. John Charles Robinson, Kt. .	1824	1853	1913	89	60
33. Herbert Barnard, Kt. . . .	1831	1855	—	—	—

The average age of the whole is 86, and the average duration of membership 58 years. Average duration as 'Father' $4\frac{2}{3}$ years.

Mr. NORMAN said it was evident from the paper that antiquaries should either be men of means or philosophers, for archaeology did not tend to wealth. Jeremiah Milles was the rector of St. Edmund's King and Martyr, and became President of the Society: he was buried in his own church. Samuel Pegge was a man of extraordinary industry, and one of his many papers, written about 1812, showed that the London dialect, connected by Dickens with Sam Weller, was historical. Hasted was one of those who did not find archaeology remunerative, and the Society owed much to the Nichols family. He was himself intimate with members of the Bray family, and thought that Roach Smith had been unfairly depreciated by later antiquaries.

Mr. BAILDON asked whether Sir Edward and his two seniors were the last survivors to be elected under the old system of ballot. About 1892, when he himself was elected, there were no evenings set apart for ballots.

Mr. QUARRELL said that he might have brought Bindley's catalogue of portraits to the meeting. He must have been a man of considerable research, as the catalogue contained 2,743 items; and there were copies at the National Portrait Gallery and at the Burlington Fine Arts Club. If his own copy proved of interest he would be glad to offer it to the Council. There was a peculiar division of the portraits into those of gentlemen and lawyers.

Mr. RICE had noticed the terms 'member' and 'fellow' used indiscriminately in the paper. To prevent any possible confusion with another Society, he preferred the exclusive use of the latter term as more correct.

Judge UDAL joined in congratulating the author on his paper, and was particularly pleased to hear details of Hasted, the historian of Kent. He had lately acquired Hasted's note of hand for five guineas value received from Mr. Boys; and a volume of the *History* was found to contain two letters—one from Boys asking help for Hasted, and Pennant's ungracious reply to the same. The historian was in the King's Bench for many years, but was eventually made Master of Horsham Hospital. The first Society of Antiquaries really started in 1638, and its genesis was recorded in *Archaeologia Cantiana*, vol. i (1858), p. 55, there being among the Surrenden charters a set of rules agreed upon by Sir Edward Dering, Sir Christopher Hatton, Sir Thomas Shirley, and Sir William Dugdale. Their average age was 80 years.

Sir EDWARD BRABROOK in reply thanked the meeting for the reception given to his paper, and agreed that archaeology was not a lucrative career. The paper mentioned on Dialects was possibly by the younger Pegge. The alteration of Statutes under which meetings were specially fixed for ballots was made in April 1862. That under which no papers were to be read and no visitors admitted was made in 1893. He was sure Bindley's catalogue would be acceptable, and agreed that the term Fellow was correct, at least after 1751. He was indebted for several details to correspondents in reply to his inquiry in *Notes and Queries*, and would be glad of further details with regard to Edward Brent, who perhaps ought to occupy the place of Hasted in the list.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for these communications.

THURSDAY, 1st FEBRUARY 1917.

WILLIAM PAGE, Esq., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The following gifts were announced, and thanks for the same ordered to be returned to the donors:

From the Worshipful Company of Cutlers:—History of the Cutlers' Company of London. Vol. i. By Charles Welch, F.S.A. 4to. London, 1916.

From the Author:—Notes on West-Country pewterers with illustrations of their marks where known. By H. H. Cotterell. 4to. Exeter, 1917.

From William Page, Esq., V.P.S.A.:—The church bells of Lancashire. Part ii. The hundred of Salford. By F. H. Cheetham. 8vo. Manchester, 1916.

From W. H. Quarrell, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.:—Manuscript Catalogue of Mr. Bindley's collection of English Portraits taken by himself in February 1785.

The following were admitted Fellows:

Lawrence Arthur Turner, Esq.
Captain Annesley Tyndale Warre.

Sir WILLIAM ST. JOHN HOPE, Litt.D., D.C.L., read a paper on the twelfth-century quire screen formerly in the cathedral church

of Ely, with some notes on quire screens in general, which will be printed in *Archaeologia*.

The screen formerly at Ely, which formed the basis of the paper, was destroyed in 1770, and nothing was known of it except its plan, and some sketches made by Essex. These had lately been rediscovered by Mr. Aymer Vallance, together with a further sketch which had made possible (for the first time) the reconstruction of the screen on paper.

Before describing the screen, which was of great architectural interest, it was thought desirable to review the whole subject of quire screens, and their origin. This seemed to begin with the ambons used for the ceremonial reading of the epistle and gospel at mass that still remained in some Italian churches, and eventually resulted in a loft or gallery over the quire screen which served the same purpose. Quite a number of these lofts existed in England, and so far as secular churches were concerned they were primarily used for reading the epistle and gospel from on Sundays and festivals. They also served as organ lofts, which was the main reason why they had been preserved. In monastic churches the loft had a similar origin, but was not used in quite the same way. In both secular and monastic churches there were different types of quire screens, the various forms of which were fully discussed in the paper. The history of the open rood-screen and its loft found in parish churches was not involved.

Mr. Vallance said that the Beverley pulpitum was the oldest of its kind in England and was interesting as the work of Archbishop Aldred, who crowned Harold and William the Conqueror. It thus served as a link between Saxon and Norman times. He felt bound to emphasize the extraordinary diligence and modesty exhibited in the paper, and was glad to see the author was not ashamed of revising his opinion. Hitherto it had been assumed that the use of the pulpitum or screen was identical in monastic and secular churches, but that had been proved an error. The monastic orders had a less elaborate ceremonial than the secular canons. There was no evidence that anything like the elaborate procession for the reading of the gospel and epistle, as for instance at Lincoln, ever took place in a monastic church. Sir William had for the first time given that point its full importance, and it was a capital one in the study of church screens.

The Rev. D. H. S. Cranage was disappointed, with many others, to find that all architectural evidence of a screen was obliterated in so many churches. At Sherborne its place was indicated by the great fire due to the quarrel between the parish and the monks. The part covered by the screen was not reddened by

the fire. The quire at Ely remained till modern times under the octagon, and that was the arrangement at the time of construction. The ordinary view was that the octagon was intended to give a great space where it was needed; and that Wren built St. Paul's and St. Stephen's, Walbrook, on the same lines for a similar purpose. But Sir William Hope's plan showed that the original purpose was different, and the Ely octagon was not used for a great assembly. The screen shut off the monastic church, and the weight of the central structure was spread over eight pillars instead of four. The paper had thrown new light on the use of the screen, and merited the gratitude of the Society.

Mr. CARÖE raised a small point about Ely, which the drawings did not elucidate. The whitewash on the pillars was different on the two sides, which seemed to show that the construction of the screen was not the same at both ends. A drawing in the bishop's palace of the burial of Bishop Cox (*Gallus Christi*) showed a gallery all round the octagon, and proved that late in the reign of James I the space below was used to accommodate large congregations.

Mr. DALE remarked that two kinds of organ were used in medieval churches: the smaller could be picked up and carried round with processions, and the positive organs on the screen were fixtures. A pair of organs meant a single instrument. A question not yet answered was by whom and at what date was the keyboard invented.

Sir WILLIAM HOPE replied that there was no structural evidence of the screen at Durham. If the screen were there, holes would have had to be made for fixing, but a stone screen would be broad and heavy enough to stand independently. There were no cuts in the pillars at Ely to show where the screen stood. The sketch-plan showed the position of the screen, but differed from Willis's plan with regard to the pair of vices. The staircase accounted for the inequality of whitewash. The main purpose of the paper was to distinguish three types of monastic screens not previously recognized.

The CHAIRMAN referred to the use of the word pulpitum in the Worcester episcopal register of the thirteenth century (1284), when the bishop was stated to have visited the Friars Preachers of Gloucester and preached from the pulpitum.[1] This, however,

[1] Worc. Epis. Reg., Bp. Giffard, fol. 209 d.

was probably an early instance of the use of the word in its modern sense. The meeting would endorse all that had been said as to the importance and interest of the paper.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for this communication.

THURSDAY, 8th FEBRUARY 1917.

Sir ARTHUR JOHN EVANS, Knt., D.Litt., F.R.S., President, in the Chair.

The following gifts were announced, and thanks for the same ordered to be returned to the donors:

From the Author:—A holiday in Umbria. By Sir Thomas Graham Jackson, Bt., R.A., F.S.A. 8vo. London, 1917.

From the Author:—Early interest in Dighton Rock. By E. B. Delabarre. 8vo.

From the Author, C. R. Hand, Esq.:—
1. Notes respecting the annals of Liverpool and the castle. 8vo. Liverpool, 1910.
2. Notes on Woolton Priory, near Liverpool. 8vo. Liverpool, n. d.
3. Shakespear not Bacon. 8vo. Liverpool, 1913.

W. L. HILDBURGH, Esq., F.S.A., read the following paper on Some English Alabasters in Spain:

The few notes on English medieval alabaster carvings that I am reading this evening make no pretence at being of more than a desultory character. I have no intention of trying to cover the whole field of such carvings at present to be seen in Spain, and I intend to limit myself to the descriptions of a few specimens now in two public museums there, and of the two tables exhibited, which, although not at the present moment in Spain, have only lately, after a sojourn abroad of some centuries, returned to their native land.

The group of tables with which I shall deal first consists of seven now in the Museo Arqueológico at Madrid.[1] These tables, several of which are in a rather fragmentary condition, have been mounted together in a wooden frame which has the form of a pointed arch and is divided into nine sections, two of

[1] I have been indebted to D. Francisco Osorio and D. Manuel Péres Villamil, of that museum, for their courtesy in placing at my disposal facilities for obtaining photographs of these tables, and a copy of the museum's records concerning them.

which sections (the outer ones of the uppermost line) are vacant. The frame bears the number 1600 of the museum's inventory. The tables, which represent scenes in the life of the Virgin Mary, formerly constituted part of a retable in the church of Santa Maria la Vieja, at Cartagena (Múrcia); they were presented to the Museo Arqueológico by the Ayuntamiento (Corporation) of Cartagena, in the year 1869. Sets of tables depicting scenes in the life of the Virgin seem to have been a stock article with the English alabaster workers of the period during which these tables were made, and a considerable number of such sets—some complete, some with panels missing from them—which are still in existence have been referred to by Professor Prior in *Medieval Figure-Sculpture in England* and the *Catalogue* of the Exhibition held by this Society in 1910. The stock sets seem generally to have comprised either five or seven panels, the central one of which was larger than the others. The present seven tables have been derived, I think, from at least two (and probably three) sets originally distinct from each other, the remnants of which have been combined to form the series as now constituted. I base this opinion on the internal evidence of the tables, which seem to show at least two distinct handlings; on the fact that two of them show scenes which I believe are not commonly represented in the 'Virgin' sets; and on the absence of scenes of such importance as the Assumption, the Coronation, and the Adoration of the Kings. Whether the original sets existed in their complete form in the church of St. Mary whence these remnants were sent to Madrid, or whether, perhaps, they existed in English churches and their parts were sent abroad, at the time of the Suppression, to be re-combined in the Cartagena retable, I do not know.

The tables, the original dimensions of which are somewhat difficult to determine in their present conditions and situations, seem to have been of several slightly differing sizes, and approximately a little more than 15 in. in height and a little less than 10 in. in width. I think that they are all to be assigned, following Professor Prior's provisional classification, to the period 1420–60. The execution of the sculpture, although by no means of a delicate character, is in general dignified, and the figures and drapery are for the most part graceful and pleasing, while the faces are expressive. The tables retain strong traces of the colours with which they were originally painted. Most of the faces are somewhat darker than the bare parts of the stone. Some of the backgrounds have been gilded, and upon some the characteristic spots of colour, applied in very low relief upon the flat surface, are still to be seen.

The subjects represented on the tables are the following: Birth

of the Virgin; Dedication; Education; Betrothal; Annunciation; Nativity of our Lord; and Circumcision. Of these, the treatment of the drapery seems to indicate that the Birth,



Fig. 1. ALABASTER TABLE OF THE BIRTH OF THE VIRGIN ($\frac{1}{4}$).

Dedication, and Circumcision originally formed part of one set, while the remaining scenes formed part of at least one other set.

Birth of the Virgin (fig. 1). This table is in a fragmentary condition, the background, and a large rectangular piece in the lower left-hand quarter, being absent. St. Anne lies in a bed, sloping to the right of the table, on the nearer side of which stand

Fig. 2. ALABASTER TABLE OF THE DEDICATION OF THE VIRGIN ($\frac{1}{4}$).

a small parturition-chair and a cradle. She is attended by three women, two of whom are ministering to her comfort while the third holds the infant Mary, who is wrapped in swaddling clothes and has her head covered with a cap.

Dedication (fig. 2). When Mary had been weaned in her third year, St. Joachim and St. Anne took her to the Temple of Jerusalem, in order to offer sacrifices and to place the child 'in the apartment of virgins, wherein virgins continued day and night in the praises of God'.[1] 'Now there were around the temple, according to the fifteen psalms of degrees, fifteen steps to go up: for since the temple was set upon a mount, the altar of burnt offering, which was outside, could not be approached except by steps. Upon one of these, therefore, her parents set the blessed little Virgin Mary . . . the virgin of the Lord went up all the steps in order, without the hand of any one to lead and lift her'.[2] In the representation Mary, shown as a small and slender girl with a nimbus behind her head, is mounting a steep and unrailed flight of fifteen steps leading to the top of a platform, covered with a cloth and having in its side a recess containing two vessels, which seems to represent the altar[3] to which the account above says she ascended.[4] A small column, seemingly on top of the platform, has been intended perhaps to indicate a part of the Temple in the background; or, possibly, to cause the altar to represent the Temple. The high priest, shown only from the waist upward (presumably because he is supposed to be standing at the side of the altar), is waiting to receive her, while behind the stairway stand St. Anne, with her hands upraised as if to guard the child from falling, and St. Joachim with a receptacle containing offerings. Two spectators, their hands folded in prayer, stand behind the parents, but only parts of them remain, the other portions having disappeared with the background. An angel, swinging a censer, kneels beside the stairway.

Education (fig. 3). This representation, like others in sculpture or in painting treating of the same subject, is not based upon any of the gospels. 'It is not said anywhere that St. Anna instructed her daughter. It has even been regarded as unorthodox to suppose that the Virgin . . . required instruction from any one. Nevertheless, the subject of the "Education of the Virgin" has often been represented in later times . . . In all these examples Mary is represented as a girl of ten or twelve years old. Now, as the legend expressly relates that she was three years old when she became an inmate of the temple, such representations

[1] 'Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew,' chap. iv, as given in B. Harris Cowper's *The Apocryphal Gospels*, London, 1897.
[2] 'Gospel of the Nativity of Mary,' chap. vi.
[3] See Sir William Hope's remarks, *infra*.
[4] 'Pseudo-Matthew' (*loc. cit.*) does not mention the altar, but says merely that 'When she had been set before the gates of the temple she went up the fifteen steps . . .'.

must be considered as incorrect'.[1] On the table only three figures are represented, Mary (whose head is missing), a well-grown girl, standing between her parents, both of whom are nimbed. St. Anne holds an open book before the child, behind



Fig. 3. ALABASTER TABLE OF THE EDUCATION OF THE VIRGIN ($\frac{1}{4}$).

whom St. Joachim stands, seemingly trying to encourage her. The background, which is unbroken, exhibits a number of the thick painted spots still in place.

[1] A. Jameson, *Legends of the Madonna*, 3rd ed., London, 1864, p. 151.

Betrothal (fig. 4). In this representation Mary kneels, upon a small elevation, before Joseph, who stands beneath a small edifice, seemingly the portico of the Temple. Joseph grasps by its middle the rod which has flowered and upon which the dove has settled [1] (or from which it has miraculously emerged),[2]

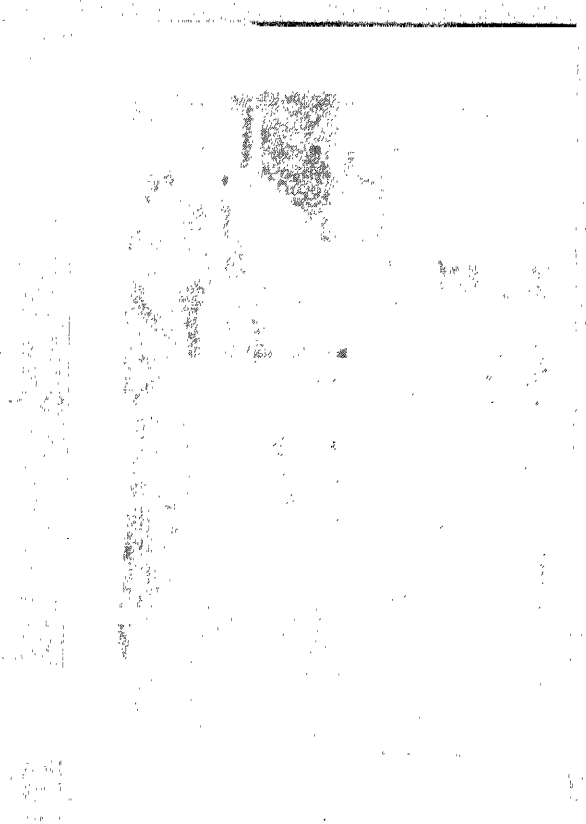


Fig. 4. ALABASTER TABLE OF THE BETROTHAL OF THE VIRGIN ($\frac{1}{2}$).

showing that he is the fore-chosen suitor, while Mary holds its lower end in her right hand. Behind Joseph stands a bishop with his crozier, while behind Mary stand two of her virgin companions in the temple. This table, which is in an excellent state of preservation, shows clearly many of the characteristic raised painted spots on the background.

[1] 'Nativity of Mary,' vii.

[2] 'Pseudo-Matthew,' viii.

Annunciation (fig. 5). The subject of this representation has so often been set forth on the alabaster tables, and in stock renderings so closely approximating in parts to the fragments



Fig. 5. ALABASTER TABLE OF THE ANNUNCIATION ($\frac{1}{4}$).

which remain to us of this table, that, although very considerable sections of the alabaster are at present missing, we may without much difficulty reconstruct the scene as it was before the table was broken. Mary, crowned and nimbed, is kneeling, while God the Father, represented by a head appearing above

conventionalized clouds in the upper left-hand corner of the panel, breathes forth the Holy Spirit, which is on its way in the form of the Dove. At the extreme left a pair of wings is

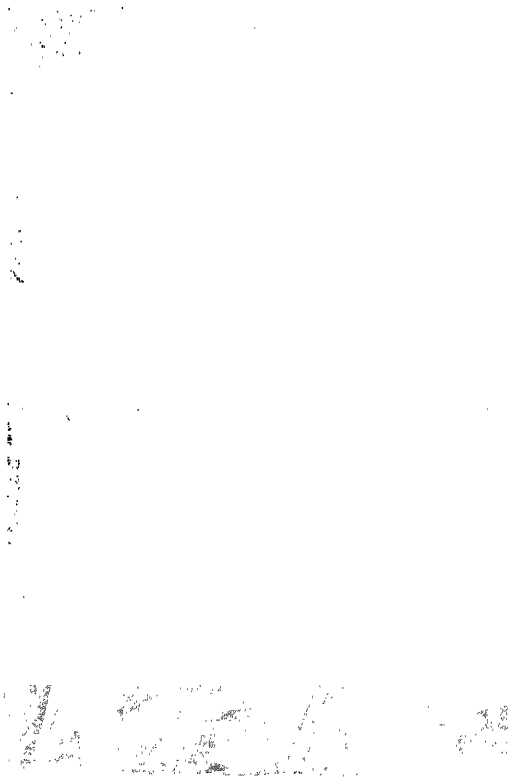


Fig. 6. ALABASTER TABLE OF THE NATIVITY ($\frac{1}{4}$).

to be seen, all that remains of the figure of Gabriel, whose greeting appears on a portion of a scroll between the heads of the other two figures. Set to Mary's right is a small part of

the stem of the lily commonly depicted in representations of the Annunciation.

Nativity of our Lord (fig. 6). The Infant Saviour lies, upon a painted oval object (or surrounded by a mandorla), below the manger, at the right of the table. Before Him kneels Mary, nimbed, with her hands folded in adoration. Behind her stands Joseph, with his crutch-staff in his right hand, and with him stands one of the midwives, while the other midwife—much smaller in size than the other figures, as is commonly the case in representations of the Nativity on the alabaster tables—kneels in adoration behind Mary.[1] The portion of the table on which the ox and the ass ordinarily appear in Nativities (compare note under *Nativity* below) is missing. Above Mary's nimbus a portion of a body (? that of an angel holding a scroll) is to be seen.

Circumcision (fig. 7). The Infant Saviour (whose head is missing) is seated upon a tall altar covered with a cloth, between the high priest (to the right), who is about to perform the operation, and His mother, who, crowned, holds His body with her right hand. Behind Mary stands Joseph, while in the background, which has been much broken away, are the figures of a man and a woman,[2] together with portions of several other figures. This representation of the Circumcision, like many others in art, does not agree with the account in the gospels (although the confused account of the Presentation in 'Pseudo-Matthew' xv might have served as a foundation for it), but is a modification of what should properly be the Presentation at the temple. The 'Arabic Gospel of the Infancy' says (chap. v), 'And when the time for circumcision came, that is the eighth day, the child was to be circumcised according to the law. Therefore they circumcised him in the cave . . . and on the fortieth day from his birth they brought him to the temple, and set him before the Lord and offered sacrifices for him, as is commanded in the law of Moses.'

The following two tables are at present in the Museo Arqueológico at Cordova. They represent, respectively, the Nativity (no. 434) and the Resurrection (no. 433), and are evidently both from the same workshop. The Nativity still retains a traceried heading of alabaster, in a somewhat damaged condition and set upside down, while the heading of the Resurrection is largely a wooden reproduction, only the base of the original alabaster tracery remaining, set upside down as in the Nativity. The tables seem to have formed part of a large framed retable

[1] See 'Pseudo-Matthew', xiii, and 'Gospel of James', xx.

[2] Possibly the aged Simeon and the aged prophetess Anna; see 'Pseudo-Matthew', xv.

before they wandered to the small church (or chapel) at Cordova whence (according to the information given me there) they were removed to the museum. They are to be dated, I think,

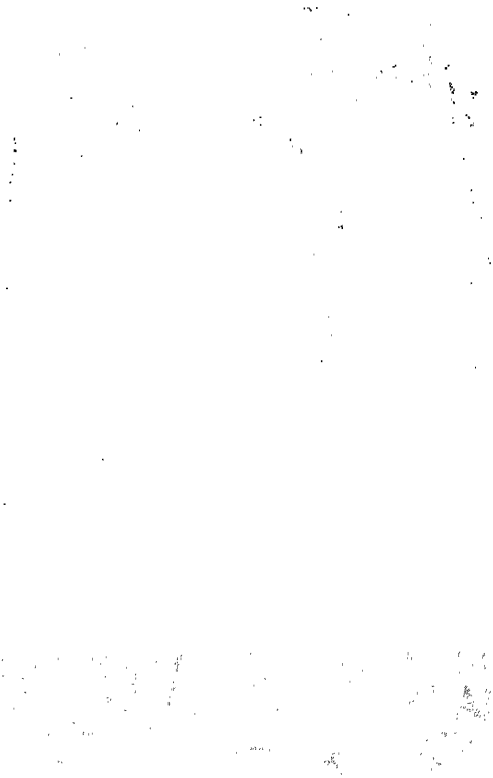


Fig. 7. ALABASTER TABLE OF THE CIRCUMCISION ($\frac{1}{4}$).

according to Professor Prior's classification, in the latter half of the fifteenth century.

Nativity (fig. 8). The general arrangement of this resembles that of other Nativities in alabaster, but the representation has

the curious feature that the ox and the ass are absent from it, the place which they should occupy being taken up by a pointed arch. Whether an arch of this kind formed part of the original design is doubtful, and the existing arch is a plaster 'restoration' painted so as to appear part of the alabaster table. No other instance of such a treatment is known to me, and indeed

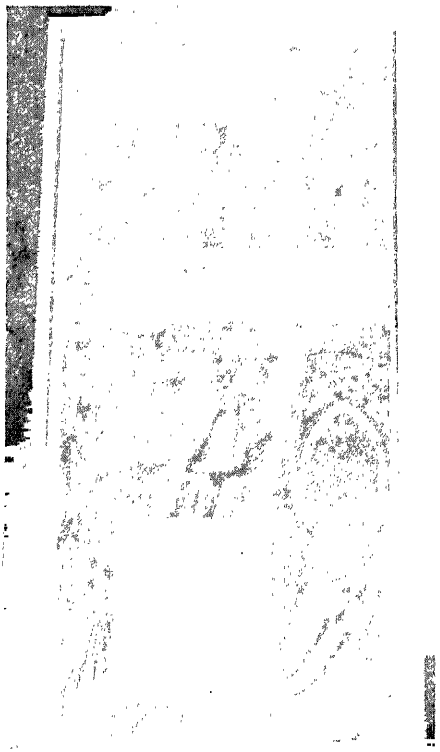


Fig. 8. ALABASTER TABLE OF THE NATIVITY.

for the two animals to have been omitted from the original design would have been strange, as they seem to appear regularly in the alabaster representations of the Nativity and of the Adoration of the Kings—indeed, Mrs. Jameson, in speaking of medieval art, goes so far as to say, 'Among the accessories, the ox and the ass are indispensable. The introduction of these animals rests on an antique tradition

mentioned by St. Jerome and also on two texts of prophecy. . . . From the sixth century, which is supposed to be the date of the earliest extant, to the sixteenth century, there was never any representation of the Nativity without the two animals.'[1] The Child is shown upon a pointed oval object (like that of the Madrid Nativity, and those of many others). Before Him kneels His mother, with her right hand raised and open, and her left hand holding the lower part (the upper part is missing) of a sceptre extended toward the Infant. Behind her are St. Joseph and the two midwives, one of them[2] being very small and kneeling in adoration (compare Nativity above). Above the group are three angel musicians,[3] who, with a scroll in front of them, appear above wavy lines probably intended to represent clouds. The principal traces of colour at present remaining are as follows: the object upon which the Infant Saviour is shown bears greenish triangles, which seem formerly to have been gilt; the hair of the Virgin is golden, upon a greenish foundation; the centre angel has blue wings, while the wings of the two others are red with white spots containing black dots; and the background in general is golden, with black spots. The height of the table is 16¼ in., and its width is 10½ in., the heading is 5¼ in. high and 10½ in. wide.[4]

Resurrection (fig. 9). The arrangement of the scene in this is similar to that of much earlier models, and follows a traditional rendering of which many examples survive. Christ is seen stepping from the tomb, with the four soldiers generally to be found in the alabaster representations of the Resurrection shown more or less

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 206.

[2] The description attached to the table suggests that this figure may represent the donor of the table.

[3] 'The angelic choristers in the sky, or upon the roof of the stable . . . are never, I believe, omitted, and in early pictures are always three in number; but in later pictures, the mystic *three* become a chorus of musicians.' Jameson, *loc. cit.*

[4] It is interesting to compare with this table one, representing the Adoration of the Kings, in the Schnütgen Collection at Cologne (Plate 56, and p. 78, of *Die Skulpturen der Sammlung Schnütgen in Cöln*, by F. Witte, Berlin, 1912), as the two tables, although the characters of the figures and of the draperies differ in them, seem to have been based on the same model. The position of Mary is very similar in the two tables, but in the Cologne example she is crowned, and she holds an unbroken sceptre. Behind her appear the two women (called 'shepherdesses' in the description), one large, the other small, in positions similar to those of the women in the Nativity above. St. Joseph appears on the right (there being no figure in the place corresponding to his situation in the Nativity above), above the ox, the ass, and the manger, which are placed where the pointed arch of the Cordova Nativity appears. The Three Kings, who are not separated from the remainder of the group, strikingly recall, by their positions, the three angels of the Cordova table.

in their customary attitudes. On either side of Him, at about the level of His shoulders, is an angel with folded hands, in what is probably a group of conventionalized clouds. A panel having a very similar rendering occurs in the Passion series at Yssac la



Fig. 9. ALABASTER TABLE OF THE RESURRECTION ($\frac{1}{4}$).

Tourette (see fig. 19, plate VIII, of the *Catalogue* of the Exhibition of Alabaster Work). A great part of the colouring of the table is still in place; its distribution is as follows: The hair and the beard of Christ are golden, the gilding seemingly having been applied upon a greenish base, and His cross is golden. The greater part of His nimbus, the lining of His mantle, and the

flag attached to the cross, are red. The angels' hair is golden, and their wings are blue. The faces of the soldiers are pinkish. The edging of the tomb is blue. The background in general is golden, with uncoloured (? where the thickened pieces of colouring have fallen off) spots upon it. The table is 18 in. high and 10½ in. wide.

Concerning the history of the two tables which I am exhibiting this evening, representing respectively the Death of the Virgin Mary and the Entombment of a Royal Lady, I have no data of any value, beyond the fact that they were until quite recently in Spain.

Death of the Virgin Mary (fig. 10). This table has, very probably, belonged to a set portraying the History of Mary, of the kind to which I have referred above. It is one of the less usual subjects[1]; concerning which it is stated in *Medieval Figure-Sculpture in England* (p. 464) that 'The "Birth of the Blessed Virgin" and her "Death" are also found separately, and may sometimes have been added to more especially honour her, but we have not seen complete examples of retables with these additions'. The table is, so far as the carving is concerned, almost whole, its principal deficiencies being the head of an Apostle in the left-hand upper corner, the figure of another in the upper right-hand corner, and a portion of the background along its upper edge. Otherwise the alabaster, excepting for a few minor faults, such as missing fingers, or slightly damaged noses, and, possibly, the lack of a small object (? a key) whose loss has been marked by the re-cutting of the left-hand of the figure just above the palm-branch, is in practically its original condition, with its original surface. Its present height (which is less than the original, due to the breaking away of the upper edge) is 14¾ in., and its width 9½ in. It is to be dated, I think, in the latter part of the fifteenth century.

The Virgin lies upon an elevated couch, facing to the left and occupying the whole width of the panel. Her head, which is covered with a head-dress, rests upon two flat pillows. The upper part of her body is clothed in a close-fitting garment reaching nearly to the neck, while the lower part, up to about the level of the diaphragm, is covered with a bed-cloth whose exaggerated wrinkling is a peculiarity worthy of note. Her left hand is beneath the coverlet; with her right she grasps the upper part of the palm-branch gathered in Paradise and brought to her three days before her death by an angel who instructed her

[1] Bouillet, in his small catalogue (following 'La fabrication industrielle des retables en albâtre', in the *Bulletin monumental*, vol. lxv), mentions (p. 53) an example of it at Breuil-Benoît (Eure).

to have it carried before her bier. Round the couch are gathered the Twelve Apostles, miraculously brought from various parts of the world, to meet before the door of her house. The moment portrayed is that at which the Virgin hands the palm-branch to St. John, bidding him bear it before her on her way to burial. The number of figures, twelve, all of whom are, so far as can be



Fig. 10. ALABASTER TABLE OF THE DEATH OF THE VIRGIN ($\frac{1}{2}$).

seen, men, seems to indicate that the intention has been to represent only the Apostles, although the legends describing the death mention the names of various other persons, women as well as men, who were present.[1] Of the Apostles whose heads still remain all, excepting St. John, are bearded men with long hair. A peculiarity of the treatment is that the figures on the further side of the couch are represented on a larger scale than

[1] See Jameson, *op. cit.*, p. 309, for the names of these.

those on the nearer side. The four figures on the nearer side are kneeling, while all of those on the farther side seem to be standing. Of marks helping to distinguish the Apostles from each other there seem to be none, excepting in the case of St. John, and an object formerly in the hand of the tonsured figure just above the palm-branch may have been a key, as the figure is probably that of St. Peter.

The stone still retains many traces of painting, which are distributed as follows: The faces of the Apostles reddish above their beards (i.e. in the parts best protected from abrasion), with red lips, and expressively-delineated eyes in brown; their beards and hair a brownish black, showing traces of gilding which has either changed in colour for the most part, or has been painted over. The borders of the robes, and the collars of the inner garments, golden; the linings of the robes red or dark green. The palm-branch black. The Virgin's face flesh-colour or red, with red lips, and eyes carefully painted in brown; her pillows red and brown; her head-dress bordered with gold; her garment brown; the edge of her coverlet golden. The ground dark green with red dots each surrounded by five white dots. The background of the upper part golden.

Entombment of a Royal Lady (*?St. Etheldreda*) (fig. 11). While this table portrays, in all probability, the entombment of a female saint, no definite indications seem to be given as to the sanctity of the central figure, nor, beyond the crown, as to her identity. Assuming, however, that (as is highly probable) the central figure is a saint, it seems likely, judging from some of the minor indications in the representation, and as the result of a system of elimination, that the scene portrayed is that of the reinterment of St. Etheldreda. If this be so the specimen has an unusual interest for us, because St. Etheldreda was a saint peculiarly venerated in England and of comparatively little interest to the outer world, wherefore it would seem evident that the occurrence in Spain of a portrayal of a scene in her history has been due to some abnormal happening—in all probability an exportation following upon the Suppression in the sixteenth century—rather than the result of a specific order sent from Spain to the English alabaster workers. The carving, excepting for some small pieces of the background along the edges, and a small piece of one of the arms of the cross, seems to be to all intents and purposes in its original condition, and traces of what seem to be the original colourings are to be found on various parts of it. It dates, I think, from the second half of the fifteenth century. It is 16 in. in height and $10\frac{1}{2}$ in. in width. On the back of it, deeply scratched, is the mark 'IV'.

St. Etheldreda, called also by various other names, and known

to the common people as St. Audrey, had been queen of Northumbria and abbess of Ely, and after her death became one of the greatest of the medieval saints. When Etheldreda died, her remains were placed in a wooden coffin and were buried at Ely. Some years later, in 695, her sister, Sexburga, who had succeeded her as abbess, decided to give her more fitting burial. There



Fig. 11. ALABASTER TABLE OF THE ENTOMBMENT OF ST. ETHELDREDA (?) ($\frac{1}{4}$).

being no stone in the neighbourhood of Ely, she sent off several of the brethren of the abbey—which was a mixed one—to obtain a suitable tomb elsewhere. At Grantchester they found a white marble coffin, lying empty near the walls of the Roman town. This they brought back with them to Ely, and in it the body of Etheldreda, which all this time had remained undecayed, was placed.[1]

[1] Abridged from the account in Smith and Wace's *Dict. of Christian Biography*, London, 1880, vol. ii.

In the alabaster on exhibition the royal body is encased in a cloth tied about the feet and passing beneath the head, and is about to be lowered into a fine stone coffin by two men, one of whom, at the feet, is the only bearded member[1] of the group about the sarcophagus. The body, which lies at a slight angle to the horizontal, faces to the right, and occupies nearly the whole width of the panel. On the farther side of the coffin stands an archbishop, with a staff surmounted by a cross, reading from a scroll in his right hand. Beside him are, in addition to the two men engaged in the coffining, six figures which seem all to represent men; of these, two (in the upper right-hand corner) carry each a great lighted candle. On the nearer side of the coffin are two men, each with a great lighted candle, he to the left being seated upon a low mound, and he to the right resting upon one knee. All the figures of the group are shown as having long hair, and only one of them—the one whose head is immediately adjacent to the archbishop's scroll—is tonsured.

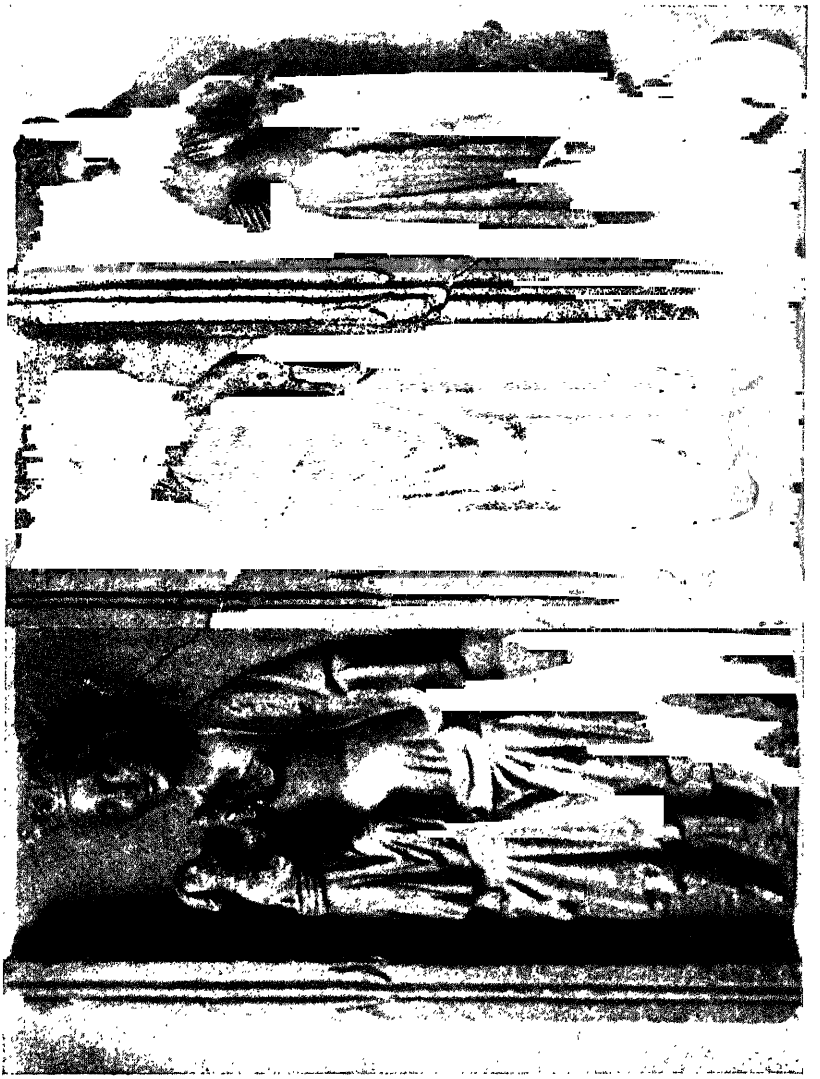
The colouring remaining on the alabaster is distributed as follows: The hair of the figures is black, excepting in the cases of the central figure and the archbishop, who have golden hair. The beard of the bearded man is black. The crown and a part of the mitre are golden. The collars, cuffs, girdles, etc., of the figures are golden. The candles are brown, with traces of red on one of them. The sarcophagus bears faint traces of red and green, and its narrowest moulding is golden. The ground is dark green, with red dots surrounded each by five white dots. The background of the upper part is golden.

The Right Hon. F. Leverton Harris, M.P., exhibited part of an alabaster retable, lately purchased by him, and formerly kept at the Angel Inn, Marshfield, Gloucestershire. Before being taken to the Angel Inn it had been built in over the fireplace of a room in another inn in Marshfield now pulled down (see illustration).

The Secretary described the exhibit as having formed part of a fifteenth-century alabaster retable consisting of five canopied niches, each containing the figure of a saint. There remained three of the niches, the other two and the whole of the canopies having been lost. Those which remained were the middle and the two right-hand compartments, the former being wider than the rest ($8\frac{1}{2}$ in. as against $6\frac{1}{4}$ in.), and containing a figure of our Lady and Child. In the next compartment was St. Margaret,

[1] In a picture (painted *c.* 1425) of the re-burial of St. Etheldreda, belonging to the Society, one of the men engaged in lowering the body is bearded.

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ALABASTER TABLE FROM THE ANGEL INN, MARSHFIELD, GLOS.

and in the third another female saint, now without any distinguishing emblem. Doubtless the two lost compartments had contained figures of other female saints, of whom St. Katharine was probably one, and the retable had belonged to an altar of our Lady. The figures were of equal height, 21 in., although that of our Lady was seated, and consequently larger than the rest in actual scale. All wore rich crowns with fleurons, and had their hair hanging loose on their shoulders. They were cut out of the solid, and all, especially that of our Lady, were of excellent workmanship; their date was probably in the first quarter of the fifteenth century. The Child, who stood on His Mother's right knee, held a bird in His left hand, a rather unusual treatment in English representations, but of common occurrence on the Continent in painting and sculpture. In her left hand the Virgin had held a sceptre, but both hand and sceptre were now broken away. St. Margaret stood on the Dragon, thrusting the end of her cross staff into his mouth; the upper part of the staff was lost, as was the palm of martyrdom which she once held in her right hand. The only remains of colour were to be found on St. Margaret's staff, where some patches of a deep red were visible; everywhere else the original painting had been cleaned off, and the brown colour of the alabaster was probably due to the fact that it had for many years been set up as a chimney-piece in the inn at Marshfield, as already mentioned.

Apart from its artistic merits, the exhibition was a notable one from the fact that this retable was, as far as known, the only survivor of what must have been a very large class of such objects. Large slabs of this character were of course much more liable to be broken up than the more portable panels, of which so many had come down to us.

Sir William Hope congratulated the author on an interesting paper and thought Mr. Harris's alabaster was a remarkable specimen. Information from Mr. Brakspear had made him anxious to visit Marshfield. Examples of such a size were extremely rare, and the only one he knew approaching the exhibit had been included in the Alabaster Exhibition of 1910 and represented St. Thomas of Canterbury. The group of our Lady and Child was remarkable for the bird, which appeared also in a specimen from Royston, hitherto regarded as unique. In the Lady Chapel at Ely the Virgin was represented ascending a flight of fifteen steps. The platform was really an altar, and the recess below was to hold the cruets: there was a parallel in the British Museum, the subject being St. Thomas of Canterbury. The panel with the burial of a royal lady he attributed to St. Katharine rather than St. Etheldreda: a picture in the Society's possession

of the Translation of St. Etheldreda showed the scar of an ulcer on the neck. Between the two figures below could be seen the lid of the coffin. In the panel with the Death of the Virgin he thought that there might be recognized in front, in addition to the figure of St. John, the figures of St. Peter, St. Andrew, and St. James his brother.

Colonel CROFT LYONS had notes of a large number of alabasters which he had seen in France and Spain, but could find no evidence as to how or when these specimens were exported from England. The best was in private possession at Madrid, an Annunciation with most of its original colouring. He had not seen anything very exceptional abroad. A specimen as large as Mr. Harris's exhibit was a martyrdom of St. Peter in the Victoria and Albert Museum; it had remained for many years in a Suffolk garden, having come, he thought, originally from the parish church. Alabaster tables were widely scattered over Europe.

Dr. COCK drew attention to the obstetric chair of the period in the table showing the birth of the Virgin. A chair of this kind was represented in the earliest medical book printed in English.

Sir HERCULES READ remarked on the curious technique of the canopy work (a wooden 'reproduction') placed above one of these panels at Cordova. In the Circumcision scene he was struck with the likeness to a Roman altar, which was close enough to suggest that one had been taken as a model. The English alabasters reached a high level of excellence, and brought native art to as high a level as any reached in medieval Europe. He regretted not having carried out during his presidency the scheme to make a Corpus of English medieval art in order to make its qualities better known at home and abroad. A distinguished French archaeologist had even refused to recognize the part of the Grandison ivory triptych in Paris as English work of the fourteenth century, though the evidence was overwhelming.

Mr. DALE remarked that the instruments played by the angels in one of the panels could be recognized as a zither with plectrum, a 'crowd' (Welsh *crwth*) with bow, and a small harp carried in the arms.

Dr. HILDBURGH replied that one reason for not attributing one of the tables to St. Katharine was that that saint had been beheaded. The wound on the neck of St. Etheldreda might have been indicated by merely a line in colour.

W. L. HILDBURGH, Esq., F.S.A., exhibited a Late Romanesque Italian Processional Cross (figs. 1 and 2), on which he read the following note:

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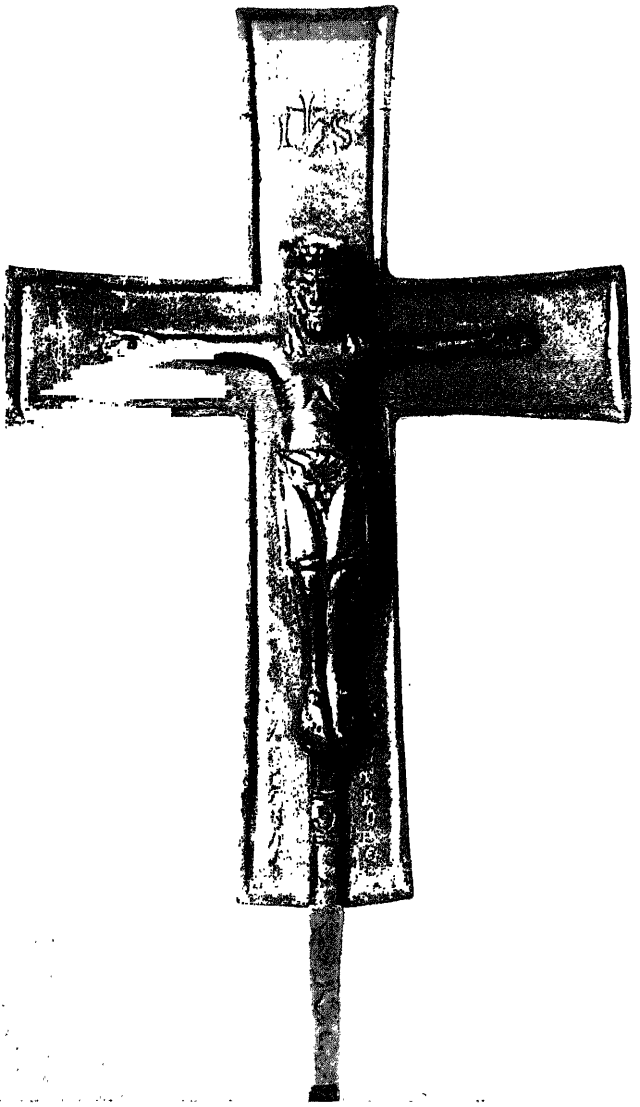


Fig. 1. LATE ROMANESQUE ITALIAN CROSS; FRONT VIEW

This processional cross appears, judged either by the general characteristics or by the inscriptions upon it, to be Italian, and from the form of its Christ we may date it, I think, somewhere about the year 1200. So far as I am aware, no history at present attaches to it, beyond the fact that it formed part of the collection of the late J. H. Fitzhenry, and was sold some years ago when his collection was dispersed; I know of no record as to how or whence it came into Mr. Fitzhenry's possession. Until quite recently a great part of its surface was covered with a coating of paint, put on in comparatively recent times for the purpose of hiding the copper exposed by the removal of the gilding with which it had previously been covered. For both the cross proper and the image the same material, copper or an alloy consisting almost wholly of copper, has been used. The traces of gilding which still remain on many parts show that at one time the whole of the visible surface must have been heavily gilt.

The cross proper, almost of the Latin form, although the arms broaden slightly towards their extremities (as in a cross paty), is about $11\frac{7}{8}$ in. long and $8\frac{3}{8}$ in. wide. The arms are about $1\frac{7}{8}$ in. broad at their narrowest parts, the cross-arm expanding to $2\frac{3}{16}$ in. at either end, and the long arm being $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. at the top and $2\frac{3}{8}$ in. at the bottom. Round the whole of both front and back runs a narrow border, slightly raised above the general surface, making the thickness at the edges, varying slightly in parts, about $\frac{3}{16}$ in.; the thickness of the cross within this rim is somewhat less than $\frac{1}{8}$ in. At the centre of the top of the long arm, and at the centres of the two extremities of the cross arm, holes show that at each of these points a pin headed with an ornament of some sort has been inserted, relieving the cross of its present simple character.

Above the head, with a cross set diagonally through it is ISh. A line is engraved, also upon the front, indicating the portion of that surface covered by the arms, body, and legs of the image, and by the *suppedaneum* and its downward prolongation. On the back of the cross, at the junction of the arms, is engraved a representation of the Lamb of God, walking toward the right and enclosed within two concentric circles.

The image of Christ, which is about $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. long and $5\frac{7}{8}$ in. between the finger tips, has been cast in a single piece. The body and the legs (and probably a part of the arms) are hollow and without a back; the head is complete and in the round, and is inclined slightly forward from the shoulders, giving an impression, not of pain and weariness, but rather of a calm regarding of the world from some height above it, while the arms are outstretched as if inviting mankind to their

embrace. The head is crowned, as in the French and the German Christs of about the same period, to which the image corresponds also in various other details of attitude and dress; the crown, which completely covers the top of the head, has four sets of three fleurons each alternating with single fleurons, and is somewhat higher at the back than at the front. The face is bearded, with a moustache, and the long hair falls from above the temples behind the ears, with three slightly curling tresses lying upon each shoulder. As in other crucifix images of about the same time, the weight of the body is supported not by the arms, which are extended horizontally, but by the *suppedaneum*, to which the feet are fastened, side by side, by means of two nails (instead of the one nail driven through the crossed feet of the later representations). The body, without being unduly emaciated, is so thin that the lines of the ribs appear.

The waistcloth is plain, without bordering or other decoration, and falls in graceful simple folds to the knees, being held, seemingly, by a turning over of its upper edge above the abdomen, without being knotted.

The *suppedaneum* is prolonged downward, forming one piece with the stem by which the cross was fastened to its support. That stem is square in section, and tapers slightly between the lower edge of the cross and its own lower end. At the point at which it meets the cross it forks, one part passing up the front and ending in the *suppedaneum*, the other passing up the back and ending in a sort of trefoil opposite to the *suppedaneum*. The two prongs of the stem have two rivets driven through them and through the cross, so as to attach the stem firmly to the cross. The ends of the nails which pierce the feet of the image appear side by side in the small trefoil at the back. The two nails by which the hands are fastened also pass through the cross, forming rivets.

One of the most interesting features of the cross is the pair of inscriptions it bears, one on the front, running parallel to the downward prolongation of the *suppedaneum* and on either side of that prolongation, the other on the back and in a corresponding position. In the inscription on the front the letters have been set vertically, the inscription starting on the right side of the cross and running in a single line until at the end of the line three letters have been placed side by side in order to complete the name 'Petro' within the line; in the continuation of the inscription, on the left side of the cross, the letters have all been set in one vertical line. In the inscription on the back of the cross, the letters have been set

C	M
A	A
N	S
P	T
A	R
N	O
A	P
(?) I	E
O	TRO

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Fig. 2. LATE ROMANESQUE ITALIAN CROSS ; BACK VIEW

with their axes parallel to the shorter arm of the cross, the inscription starting at the bottom of the left side (of the back) and continuing in a second line similarly placed on the right side, below the first.

The inscription on the back is BONAGIUNTA ALBARELLI.F. Whether the Bonagiunta[1] Albarelli[2] who thus proclaims himself made the whole of the object, or whether he was only in part concerned in its manufacture, does not appear to be clear. One would naturally presume that, as the cross proper and the Christ are of the same material, the object, at least so far as its modelling is concerned, has been made by one worker alone, were it not for the inscription on the front of the cross. In this inscription, which appears to be MASTRO PETRO CANPANAIO, the next to the last letter appears to be an 'I', but so badly cut that it resembles rather an 'f'.[3] It would, however, be somewhat difficult to explain the occurrence of an 'f' here, since all the other letters of the inscription are capitals, including the 'F' following the name on the back; moreover, the letter seems to form a part of the surname, because the 'F' on the back has a dot separating it from the name Albarelli, and another after it, and there are no such dots here. Although we are, I think, justified in accepting the third word on the front as 'Canpanaio', we are still faced with the difficulty of explaining Master Petro Canpanaio's association with the object. 'Canpanaio' may signify either a person who rings bells or has charge of them, or a founder or maker of bells.[4]

If Master Petro was the donor of the object—as the master bell-ringer or the founder of the church's bells might well be—

For some reason this name appears to have been favoured in Tuscany in the thirteenth century. Chevalier's *Répertoire des Sources historiques du Moyen Age* mentions in all only four persons bearing the Christian name of Bonagiunta (or its equivalent, Buonagiunta)—B. de Cascina, of Pisa (1265); B., a monk at Florence (1230); B. of Lucca (1250–1296); and B. de Pepone, of Volterra (1262). It mentions, in addition to these, one 'Bonajuncta' (B. Manetti), who died near Florence, in 1257. From these occurrences of the name we may possibly, I think, obtain a clue as to the part of Italy in which the cross under consideration was made. At a period much later than the thirteenth century we find Buonagiunta as a surname; cf. Mazzuchelli's *Gli Scrittori d'Italia*, Brescia, 1763.

[2] I have not found any Albarelli referred to as an artist of the thirteenth century; the name occurs as that of a wood-carver, and as that of a Venetian painter and sculptor, in the late sixteenth century; cf. Thieme-Becker's *Künstler-Lexikon*.

[3] In the Catalogue of the sale (where the cross was no. 261) of the Fitzhenry Collection, this letter was printed as 'f'.

[4] Cf. Tommaseo and Bellini's *Dizionario della Lingua Italiana*, Turin, 1865, s.v. '*Campanajo*'.

and had in consequence, as was not uncommon in the circumstances, his name placed in a prominent position upon his gift, we should expect to find accompanying the name some statement as to the reason for associating it with the object. We may observe, nevertheless, that the situation of the name, at the feet of the Christ, is just such as might have been selected by a devout donor. But, similarly, if Master Petro was a person concerned in the manufacture of the object[1]—if he were a bell-founder he might have cast the image, while Bonagiunta Albarelli perhaps beat out the cross or saw to the gilding—we should expect to find at least an explanatory letter or two to show in what capacity his association with it had occurred. We may observe, in favour of the theory that the two names are those of workers, that not only is there a difference in the arrangement on the two faces of the cross of the letters of which the inscriptions are composed, but the characters of the engraving differ, the letters on the front seemingly having been cut by a more skilled hand than those on the back. If two persons were indeed concerned in the fabrication of the object, we might well expect to find upon it the names of both of them, just as we may find a pair of names—of the blacksmith who forged them and the goldsmith who cut them—on Italian wafering-irons of a somewhat later period.[2] We should notice, finally, that the dimensions and the nature of the present object may, perhaps, taken in conjunction with a certain amount of incapacity for engraving of the metalworkers, have caused the limitation of the signatory inscriptions to their lowest convenient terms. I think, therefore, that we may possibly find a clue to the explanation of the manner of occurrence of the two names, if we read the two inscriptions as if they formed a single continuous one, and regard the final 'F' as referring to Master Petro Canpanaio as well as to Buonagiunta Albarelli.

Dr. Hildburgh also exhibited a Gothic wooden figure of Christ (fig. 3), on which he read the following note:

This wooden figure of Christ, made for attachment to a cross, was formerly covered with colours, of which a few scattered traces still remain. It is Spanish, and was, I think, made probably in the fourteenth century. At the present time the figure is in a very dilapidated condition, a great part of the left hand, prac-

[1] Thieme-Becker, *op. cit.*, does not refer to any one I have been able to connect with this Master Petro. Under '*Campanari*', '*Campanario*', and '*Campanato*', there are given the names of a number of bronze-founders (including bell-founders), but all of periods subsequent to that of our Master Pietro.

[2] See *Proceedings*, xxvii. 167.

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Fig. 3. GOTHIC WOODEN ROOD; SPANISH

tically the whole of the left foot, and the right leg from a little distance above the ankle, being absent, while most of the applied colouring has disappeared; in addition, a hole nearly half an inch in diameter has been bored through the abdomen, seemingly for the purpose of admitting a peg or pin intended to help in supporting the figure upon some cross to which it was formerly fastened.

The position of the arms and of the upper part of the trunk give the impression that the body has been represented as having its weight supported largely by the arms, and that this has been the case is further evidenced by the crossed legs, indicating that only one nail has been used for the two feet and that the *suppedaneum* has not been used to help in taking up the weight of the body.

The head, inclined somewhat to the right, hangs slightly forward from the shoulders. The hair falls in a single mass, passing just behind the ears, upon the top and back of the shoulders; there are no single strands or curls pendent upon the front of the shoulders. Upon the top of the head is what might almost be taken to be some sort of a cap, but the small traces of colour remaining upon this correspond in tint to those of the pendent masses of the hair, wherefrom it seems possible that formerly something, such as, perhaps, a crown of thorns, occupied the groove just above the forehead, and masked the anatomical distortion of the head which now seems to appear. The beard, which completely covers the lower part of the face, is quite short, and the irregularities of the natural surface are represented by a series of shallow vertical (or nearly vertical) grooves. The expression upon the face seems, judging by the sculpture, to have been one of pain and weariness, but it is necessary for us to observe that the disposition of the traces of colouring now remaining may possibly lead to a false impression as to the original expression.

The body is nude, except for the loin-cloth, which falls in a few simple and straight folds, vertical on the left side, where they reach just to the knee, and at an angle to the vertical on the right side, where they come well below the knee, over which the cloth is shown as being stretched by the bending of the leg. The cloth is represented as being turned over along the upper edge and made firm with a large knot in front, but well over to the left side.

Only one of the nail-holes—that in the right hand—remains; it is square, and about $\frac{3}{16}$ in. on each side.

The arms have been made separately and attached to the remainder of the figure, which was probably cut from one piece, and the joints have been carefully covered with a layer of rather

coarsely woven cloth extending across the shoulders at the back and across at least the greater part of the upper chest in front, and running down the arms about halfway to the elbows. At the present lower termination of the right leg a nail has been driven, evidently for the purpose of attaching the remaining portion of the leg, but I think that this is evidence of a repair rather than of a fault in the original construction.

The decoration was applied in a manner commonly used at the period for the ornamentation of statues and other objects of wood. Upon the wood, whose surface was not finished smoothly, but was left with the fine marks made by the carver's chisel showing, a layer of white plaster was put, to receive the colouring. This layer, which in most parts is quite thin, was put directly upon the wood, excepting where it was put over the cloth covering which had been laid down in order to prevent the plaster cracking above the joints. The plaster covered the whole figure, back as well as front.

The colouring of the plaster surface, so far as can at present be judged by the scanty remnants of it still adherent, is as follows:—The skin, a yellowish brown. The lines of the ribs, not marked in the carving, are shown by thin black lines. On the right side of the chest marks of red, evidently representing the blood from the Wound, are to be seen on the small fragments of the original surface; some similar marks of red seem to occur on the hands, and possibly on parts of the arms, but the red to be seen on the right knee, on the exposed wood of the right side, and round the crown of the head, has much the appearance of having been applied at a period subsequent to that of the original colouring, for the purpose of the more vividly portraying the sufferings of the Crucified. The occurrence of plaster, in some parts painted, of a somewhat coarse quality, above some of the added red colouring, is a puzzling feature, unless we assume that an attempt was made at a comparatively late period to replace the original decoration in places where it had perished. The hair and the beard are blackish, and the eyes and eyelids seem to have been of the same colour. The loin-cloth seems to have been, as to its ground, of much the same colour as the flesh, but it was ornamented with large spots (about $\frac{1}{4}$ in. in diameter) of red and brown. Black, which also appears in parts of the loin-cloth, seems to have been used in the ornamentation of its border, but the traces of the colour are so scanty that it is not possible to judge properly of its application there.

The former length of the figure was seemingly about 18 in., and its breadth between finger-tips about 19 in.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for these communications and exhibitions.

THURSDAY, 15th FEBRUARY 1917.

Sir CHARLES HERCULES READ, Knt., LL.D., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The following gifts were announced, and thanks for the same ordered to be returned to the donors:

From Harold Sands, Esq., F.S.A.:—

1. The navy of Venice. By A. Wiel. 8vo. London, 1910.
2. The earls, earldom, and castle of Pembroke. By G. T. Clark. 8vo. Tenby, 1880.
3. The castle and town of Ruthin. By Richard Newcome. 8vo. Ruthin, 1829.
4. The charter of Romney Marsh. 8vo. London, 1686.

From the Editor, Col. J. A. Bradney, C.B., F.S.A.:—Registra antiqua de Llantilio Crossenny et Penrhos in comitatu Monumethensi, 1577–1644. 8vo. London, 1916.

Notice was given of the ballot for the election of Fellows to be held on Thursday, 1st March, and the list of the candidates to be put to the ballot was read.

WILLIAM DALE, Esq., F.S.A., read the following Notes on Southwick Priory, and exhibited on behalf of Miss Helen Bonham-Carter the thirteenth-century seal matrix of the priory:

The priory of Black or Austin Canons at Southwick in Hampshire was originally founded at Portchester in 1133 by Henry I, and at that time was built the beautiful little Norman church which, with the exception of the south transept, remains to us to-day. The original charter gave a hide of land in Southwick to the canons, and between 1145 and 1153 the priory was removed thither. The reason of the removal is not given, and various causes are assigned; amongst others the encroachment of the sea. The sea, however, does not encroach here, and there can be but little doubt that the cause—as at Old Sarum—was the presence of the military within the area of the canons' domain. Portchester castle, in the reign of Henry II, became an important fortress, and was one of the principal ports of departure for France. Migration was necessary to avoid friction between the soldiery and the religious.

There are constant references to Southwick Priory in the records—injunctions, licences, particulars of visitations of the Winchester bishops—which I need not trouble you with, as they are well recorded in the Victoria County History. It is unfortunate, however, that this high authority perpetuates the error that the marriage of Henry VI to Margaret of Anjou was solem-

nized at Southwick Priory. The first to point out this popular mistake was the late Rev. Reginald White, once vicar of Titchfield, who correctly claimed the honour for the Premonstratensian abbey at Titchfield. Margaret landed at Southampton and was lodged at God's House for the night. The next day she went to meet the king, who probably stayed at Portchester castle, and was married by Cardinal Beaufort, the great-uncle of the king, on 22nd April 1445. The statement of the chronicler, William of Worcester, is clear: 'In the 23rd year of King Henry VI he married the Princess Margaret, the daughter of the King of Naples, Sicily, and Jerusalem, in the abbey of Titchfield, in the county of Southampton.' It is curious how the confusion has arisen, but the error is not a recent one. In a periodical published in 1867 is an article on Henry VI and Margaret of Anjou, which quotes the statement of William of Worcester correctly—but reproduces an old contemporary illumination of the event, under which is written 'Marriage of Henry VI and Margaret of Anjou in Southwick abbey'. I have not been able to trace this original illumination, so do not know if the lettering is copied, or whether it is modern, and should be very glad if any Fellow could throw light on the subject.

At the Suppression the buildings were not entirely destroyed by the grantee, John White, but partly adapted as a dwelling-house like Titchfield and Mottisfont. He appears to have been a minion or servant of Thomas Wriothesley, who at the same time was building Place House out of Titchfield Abbey. White was not wholly contented with his spoil. He writes to Wriothesley five days after he had received the possession to say that by the provision of God and his master's help he has attained to what he desired all his life—an honest house in which to bid his guests welcome. He complains, however, that the staff in the house is slender and the furniture rotten, while Dr. Layton took twelve of the best of twenty bacon hogs hanging in the roof. He also complains that not one of the husbandry servants will stay with him.

The letters discovered at the Record Office a few years ago by Sir William St. John Hope, and quoted by him in his paper on 'The Making of Place House', would seem to indicate that Wriothesley levied a tribute on Southwick to assist his work at Place House. These letters were written to Wriothesley by John Crayford and Rowland Latham, who sign themselves his 'most obsequious servants'. In one letter they wrote: 'At Southwak I bought the laver, certyn white glass, paving stones, a few windowes glasse, iron and stone, chepe enough with other things.'

The present church at Southwick contains a fine tomb and brasses to John White and his first wife, Katharine Pound, which were brought from the priory, and with some difficulty were adapted to White's purpose. If the brasses were turned over and examined, they would probably prove to be palimpsests.

White must have left a great deal of old work standing, and it was not until about one hundred years ago, when the house was entirely rebuilt, that the remains of the monastic buildings were destroyed by the then owner, the reason he assigned being to spare himself the annoyance of people coming to look at the



SEAL MATRIX OF SOUTHWICK PRIORY, HANTS ($\frac{3}{4}$).

ruins. Up to this time the great chapel built by William of Wykeham was apparently standing. Here Wykeham founded a chantry for the repose of the souls of John and Sibil, his parents, and here they were buried. My impression is that the present modern house only covers a part of the site, and if, in happier times, and under favourable ownership, excavations could be undertaken, interesting details might be brought to light.

The seal matrix of the priory has been twice in my possession for exhibition to our Hampshire Society. As I noticed that it had not been shown at the Society of Antiquaries since 24th March 1831, I thought the Fellows would like to see it again.

Of its history I can find out but little. At the Suppression the muniments of the priory passed into the hands of the grantee,

John White. These descended with the Southwick estates to the Thistlethwaytes, but the matrix did not accompany them. About one hundred years ago, or more, it was obtained by the father of Mr. John Bonham, of Petersfield, from a Mr. Smith, an attorney at Southwick. Thence it passed to Mr. R. Bonham-Carter, grandfather of the lady who lends it for our inspection this evening.

The CHAIRMAN said the Society was indebted for the facts given in the paper, by way of introduction to the Southwick seal. He lamented the haphazard fashion in which the property of corporations was disposed of, the last holder usually considering himself the absolute owner of the seal and similar attributes of office. Legislation might some day protect what was virtually public property and provide for its preservation in some national repository. Thanks to Mr. Dale and the owner, an opportunity had been given to see the seal, but all would be more gratified if it were placed in proper custody.

Mr. C. L. KINGSFORD sent the following contribution to the discussion:

William of Worcester, who wrote about 1468, deriving his material probably from a copy of the London Chronicles, is not a good authority for the marriage of Margaret of Anjou in 1445. However, the consensus of opinion seems to favour Titchfield against Southwick. The best authority is the *English Chronicle*, 1377–1461, published by the Camden Society in 1856; there on p. 61 she is stated to have been married in the 'Abby of Tychefeld' on 22nd April. The *Waltham Annals*, written about 1449, also give Titchfield, but with the incorrect date 9th April (see my *English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century*, p. 353). The Latin Chronicle of London (Henley, *Six Town Chronicles*, p. 103) has Tychefeld. But of the other London Chronicles one (my *Chronicles of London*, p. 156) has 'Southwell', and Gregory's Chronicle (*Collections of a London Citizen*, p. 186, Camden Society) has 'a lytyll village in Hampshire namyd ——'. The *Brut or English Chronicle*, p. 510, has 'Southwyke', the original being a lost London Chronicle of earlier date than 1460. Robert Bale, another London chronicler (Henley, *Six Town Chronicles*, p. 119), has 'Southwerk beside Portesmouth'; this was written soon after 1460. Fabyan followed the London Chronicles in giving Southwick. Stow adopted Titchfield from the first authority named, and set the fashion. The only other authority seems to be Stevenson, *Wars in France*, ii. 470 and i. 447–8 (in Rolls Series), which I cannot refer to. It may possibly be decisive,

as a document and not a chronicle. Otherwise the evidence seems pretty well divided, but with a balance in favour of Titchfield.

Sir WILLIAM ST. JOHN HOPE, Litt.D., D.C.L., in describing the matrix, referred to the account in the twenty-third volume of *Archaeologia*, and read the sections of Mr. (afterwards Sir) Frederick Madden's paper explaining the curious way in which fair impressions made simultaneously by three matrices were cut through and joined up to make the complete seal. Sir William also quoted the account in the twenty-seventh volume of *Archaeologia*, likewise by Sir F. Madden, of the seal of Boxgrove priory in Sussex, which was built up in a similar way to the Southwick seal. But whereas the latter was incomplete without the perforations showing the devices below, the Boxgrove seal had an alternative form and could be used in the solid.

Examination of other seals showed that these were not the only examples of their class. A seal of St. Austin's abbey at Canterbury, bearing date 10 Richard I, had apertures in which different devices could be shown, and impressions of the fine seal of Christchurch priory at Canterbury, made in 1233, proved that they were made and built up exactly like those of the Southwick seal.[1] The Norwich priory seal, dated 1258, was another example, as also that of Bury St. Edmunds abbey, in 1260–70.

The use of such seals had extended therefore over some sixty or seventy years, but for what reason they were so made was uncertain. The construction of each impression must have been both tedious and difficult, and the resultant was very fragile, whereas solid seals were tough and durable. There was also the apparent difficulty of suspending such of these composite seals, like the Boxgrove and Christchurch examples, as had an impressed rim legend without interrupting the legend with the appending cords or parchment strip.

Mr. BAILDON questioned whether the peculiarities of the seal could be accounted for by a desire to prevent forgery. The type would in that case have been much more common; and there were many important seals not so protected against fraud. The open-work variety was probably used only for sealing conventual leases; and he was inclined to regard them as a passing fashion.

[1] There is a fine specimen of this seal in the Public Record Office [BS. 401].

Mr. PEERS said the paper suggested further subjects for inquiry. Supposing that their purpose was to baffle the forger, why was that technique adopted for the seals in question? Where the device is in high relief, the surfaces were bound to be spoilt by rubbing; and a delicate impression could be preserved by a process of countersinking. The earliest specimens were no doubt executed as described in the paper, but the modified treatment of the later seals seemed to show that the fashion soon proved troublesome. The tabs of the document could not be taken straight through, but had to be carried round the edge of the seal. In the Boxgrove seal cords must have been taken round under the marginal inscription, as the only way to prevent any interference with the design; and they could not have been withdrawn without breaking the wax. The fashion might have been due to the practice of setting antique gems in matrices, the surface of the intaglio being a little below the field of the seal. The technique of the seals on exhibition was only found in English specimens; it must have been well established by the end of the twelfth century, as the earliest seal exhibited on technical grounds could hardly have been the earliest of its kind. With regard to the edge inscriptions, the Norwich seal had a bevelled rim, behind which a parchment tab might pass, thus leaving the legend uninterrupted.

Mr. DALE read a rhyming version of the Southwick legend, which he had secured during the reading of the paper.

The CHAIRMAN remarked that Sir Frederick Madden had 'presumed' it to be the only seal of its kind, but that was now proved to have been an assumption. The Society had a fine series of English seal-impressions, but the Continent was poorly represented. That was easily explained but did not excuse neglect of foreign specimens, on which many volumes had been published. One pressing need was an equivalent to the French École des Chartes, where candidates for employment in museums and similar institutions could get a working knowledge of documents, history, and seals. Gems hardly explained the open-work technique, as they were set in the centre and formed the principal part of the device. The word 'die' had been used in the paper: the seal, in his opinion, was what was technically called a matrix, as opposed to seal-impressions or casts from such impressions. The elaboration of the specimens exhibited was not, he thought, due to any fear of forgery, but to a spirit of emulation. Except for the legend round the edge, that type was more easily forged than any other, as the two faces could be easily separated and affixed to another document. The material

used for sealing in medieval times was practically imperishable apart from violence, and was quite different from modern sealing-wax, which was mostly shellac. He preferred the pierced lugs of the Boxgrove matrix to the clumsy pins of Southwick. The period of those and similar matrices was one in which England was *facile princeps* in the art of seal engraving. Thanks were due to all concerned in a most interesting exhibition.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for these communications and exhibitions.

THURSDAY, 22nd FEBRUARY 1917.

Sir ARTHUR JOHN EVANS, Knt., D.Litt., F.R.S., President, in the Chair.

The following gifts were announced, and thanks for the same ordered to be returned to the donors:

From the Author:—The early maps of London. Part I. By William Martin, LLD., F.S.A. 8vo. London, 1916.

From the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records:—Calendar of inquisitions post mortem. Vol. ix. Edward III. 1916.

Henry Lennox Hopkinson, Esq., M.A., LL.B., was admitted a Fellow.

Notice was again given of the ballot for the election of Fellows to be held on Thursday, 1st March 1917, and the list of candidates to be put to the ballot was again read.

The Rev. D. H. S. CRANAGE, Litt.D., F.S.A., read a paper on an unsolved problem of Gothic architecture—the permanent outer roof—which will be printed in *Archaeologia*.

The destruction at Rheims had called attention to a weakness which was found in almost all Gothic churches—the inflammable nature of the outer roof. The inner vault of the cathedral church was intact, but the outer roof was consumed in the great fire of 1914. Was such a roof a necessity or was there any suitable way of making it as permanent as the inner vault?

The problem was a comparatively simple one if a barrel vault were used, especially with a pointed arch: stone slabs could be laid almost directly on the vault without any woodwork. This form was seen frequently in the south of France and in the

Channel Islands. It occurred at Abbotsbury, in the nave of Bolton, Cumberland, and in portions of many other churches; it was quite common in Scotland. The stone roofs at Minchinhampton and Willingham were on a different principle. Other solutions would be found at Périgueux and at Loches: the latter church was of special interest as compared with English chapter-houses.

The main importance of the problem, however, was its connexion with groined vaulting, which was the normal ceiling of a great Gothic church. The following attempts at solution might be mentioned:

(1) The entire absence of upper roof, the vault being roughly covered in a somewhat irregular fashion. This occurred at Nicosia, where the form appeared to be deliberate, and in several Spanish churches, notably at Barcelona and at Manresa, where there had probably been an upper roof originally of the ordinary type. There were several examples in the south of France, notably at Vignogoul, Maguelonne, and Saint-Pargoire, Hérault.

(2) The filling up with concrete above the vault to form a curved surface at the top, as in the south transept at Cefalù.

(3) An upper barrel vault above the groined vault, as at Lincluden.

(4) The use of reinforced concrete, as in the work now under construction at Liverpool.

All these attempts had drawbacks. Was there a solution which would provide real permanence and be consistent with the principles which governed the great Gothic churches of the middle ages?

Mr. Hubbard thought the paper exhaustive and full of interest, but feared that if the system were adopted for Gothic roofs one of the country's architectural beauties would be sacrificed. Structurally there was no inherent difficulty in supporting a roof on the groining of a church if the building were designed for it; but without the ordinary upper roof the façade would be split up into a series of small gables. When he examined the concrete structure of Cefalù, it appeared to belong to the original design, but involved an ungainly mass on the top of the building. Probably the north transept was treated in the same way as the south; but much of the roof was not concreted at the present day and the failure of the system was no doubt due to the enormous weight to be supported. The donor's inscription on the building had been happily interpreted by the late Dr. Sebastian Evans (CXXM, for Count Vintimiglia). The author of the paper should be congratulated on showing one solution of the roof problem. He had doubts, shared by Mr. Cranage, as to

the artistic merits of the roof scheme shown in his own drawing; but he was dissatisfied with the medieval arrangement, and thought it would be well to discuss the problem afresh. The twentieth century ought to produce something both beautiful and permanent in the way of outer roofs, and there was no lack of clever young architects.

Mr. A. G. Hill considered the whole point of the paper to be that the exterior roof was adopted not only to protect the vaulting from the weather but also to improve the exterior appearance of the church. He had prepared notes on various churches in Spain, but knew of no instances there of a structural roof being used as a protection against the weather, except in the case of later alterations, as at Avila, where the original covering had been stone slabs, later replaced by timber and tiles; and at Toledo tiles had been recently substituted for stone, the latter being the *ecclesiae testudines*. He had examined the roofs of Barcelona churches on several occasions: from below no exterior roof was visible at all, and though such might have formerly existed, at the present day the vaults were covered with tiles and stone. The rain-water from the vault-exterior was carried down through the pockets and buttresses, but that was not the original design. The Dalmatian church cited was a late example, dating from 1443 in the Venetian period: it had been built with a structural stone roof and the same stones were seen from inside and outside, an arrangement for which he knew no parallel. The southern French churches constructed in that way were smaller, not to say diminutive buildings. The thrust at Sebenico was rather a problem, but had been met by the equivalent of flying buttresses. The existence of an exterior roof in Europe was due mainly to artistic views of architecture, but had also a practical foundation; and a gable without a roof behind it would never be anything but a failure.

Mr. Peers emphasized the two principles of an interesting and suggestive paper: the main points of inquiry being whether medieval architects did not seriously attempt that solution of the problem of an outer uninflammable roof, and why such a method was not adopted to-day; but the two questions were not parallel. The medieval stone outer roofs shown in illustion were of small size, and, to be logical, were only suited to a church with stone barrel vaulting. The ordinary quadripartite vault was designed in order that its thrust might be centred on certain points; but the weight of a solid stone roof on top of the vaulting could not be concentrated but would act along the whole wall. Hence the problem of an outer stone roof was alien to great architecture in medieval England. In the case of

certain early Irish churches, barrel vaults were combined with a steep-pitched stone roof, the ridge of which was much higher than the crown of the vault: the haunches were solid up to a certain point, and a chamber was provided between the vault and roof. But that system, excellent as it was, could hardly be adopted for a large building. The largest stone outer roofs in the country were Scottish, and all were of late date, the latest being Melrose (1618), where the original span of the nave was lessened by the building of a wall within the line of the north arcade. This roof was now under repair; its construction showed the danger of wet getting between the two surfaces, a fact which explained the recent treatment of Bolton church in Cumberland. It was idle to surmise what medieval builders would have done with reinforced concrete, which had been adopted for the roof of Liverpool Cathedral, and was in reality only a copy of a wooden roof. The great vaulted roofs of the baths of Caracalla at Rome were really cast, as it were, in one mass of concrete, and were not a composite structure like a Gothic vault. With regard to Mr. Hubbard's drawing of a stone roof resting directly upon the vaulting, he could only remark that there was a prejudice in favour of a long roof-line, and the row of gables as shown involved structural weakness. Outward thrust could be met in two ways—by lateral and vertical support; and in that particular case no external walling was carried up above the springing of the vaults, so that vertical support for the vault was lacking. The paper had interested him as it took nothing for granted, and led direct into new channels of thought. It was just possible that a modern school would devise something to give new life to architecture and develop some new scheme of roofing.

Lieutenant Ward inquired how the roof was held in equilibrium at Sebenico: to the best of his recollection there were iron ties across the church, visible inside, in the characteristic Italian manner, as opposed to the use of external buttresses. At the great abbey of Batalha, in Portugal, the roof was not flat but followed as far as possible the outline of the vault, the water running out through holes in the pockets. To hide a roof of that kind was perhaps not quite honest, but parapet and tracery served that purpose in most cases. Arthur Young, as a result of his visit to Paris in 1789, laid it down that no visible roof could have a proper artistic effect.

The President remarked that Sebenico church did not entirely depend on iron ties for the support of the roof. He thought the Society had rarely had a more interesting paper in the domain of architecture.

Rev. D. H. S. Cranage replied that the iron ties at Sebenico were mentioned by Sir Thomas Jackson, who regarded it as the most successful combination of inner and outer roofs. The section of Batalha thrown on the screen showed that the outer roof was not quite flat. With regard to counter-thrust, the difficulty with a roof of many gables could be met by extra pinnacles to load the points where the top of the buttresses would come. The artistic merits of such a roof must remain a matter of opinion.

Mr. Arthur T. Bolton sent the following contribution to the discussion:

If time had allowed I should have liked to suggest to the reader of this interesting paper that he is doing an injustice to the practical ability of our Gothic builders in treating this question as an unsolved problem. More stress needs, I think, to be laid on two leading elements in the case, namely, climate and material.

The high roofs of the north disappear naturally as you go south. Compare the eastern and western sides of Italy. Ancona, Bari, Brindisi, all suggest the flat roofs of the east. In England wet is the prevailing concern of the builder, and all mitres in roofs are weak spots, while the swift and easy disposal of the water falling on the roof is a constant preoccupation. South-westerly gales would play havoc with the reader of the paper's proposed roofing, mitred over every bay, unless the most costly preventatives were adopted.

In material I missed all reference to marble. Milan Cathedral is a northerly instance, but the possibility of marble for roofing was, of course, fully worked out by the Greeks, and has not died out, but has been carried on wherever that fine material has been available. Lead again enters largely into the question. Haddon Hall, for instance, has flat roofs using the product of local mines. As that material became common, roofs flattened themselves, because, as Wren pointed out, steep roofs are a mistake with a material so liable to creep. The fact seems to be that high roofs are a product of an absorbent or a small material, i.e. thatch reeds, small slates, tiles, etc., while large dense materials make for low pitches. Building economy in short is a motive in the architecture of all periods, and the common building sense of our ancestors was highly developed.

The scarcity of timber in eastern Europe contrasts with the prodigal supplies available in the north, and is a factor of great importance in the consideration of Gothic architecture.

Simplicity in roofing is a dominant motive in all good architecture, and the actual exhibition of the mitres of the vault externally is a secondary matter.

The case has been confused by false literary analogies of the type which, after condemning the leaden dome of St. Paul's as a sham, is constrained to apologize, or evade, the plain parallel case of the high roofs of Gothic church and chapter-house. Wren, of course, clearly expressed his view that no roof was fit to be seen, other than the spherical.

The ugly experiment at Loches is accounted for by the fact that it is the junction point of the southern pointed dome style of the Charente with the Northern Gothic. The unit dome of the nave planned in square bays may be possible artistically on a large scale, but its natural treatment is as a dome, which may or may not, be visible. Bentley, in the case of the Westminster Cathedral, expressed his indifference whether the nave domes were visible from below or not. The high parapet of Albi, which was not mentioned, illustrates how with a flat roof parapet and pinnacle replace the interest derived from the great visible roofs of northern Europe.

I venture to suggest that there is no problem in the case, when a wider view of Gothic building is adopted, and the attempt to base the whole architecture of some centuries on the vaulting problem is abandoned. Too much stress has been laid on a logic which fails to account for much that is most charming and valuable in medieval architecture.

The idea of basing styles on a single constructive method, a new Aristotelian unity, is developed in Garbett's *Design in Architecture* with much lucidity and eloquence, but the Greek lintol and Roman arch are there taken as the two preceding bases of style, while a third, a truss system, is predicted.

This has been approached perhaps in reinforced concrete, where the entire wall can be treated as a truss, but of course the weight is ultimately concentrated on points. At present, in fact, reinforced concrete is a more permanent method of doing much that was possible on a smaller scale with timber. The idea that Roman vaults, being of concrete, are merely reversed cups, can only hold good so long as their structure is not cracked, and powerful counterforts were in fact provided in the great Basilica of Maxentius. It is thought by Lanciani that in the baths of Caracalla tee-irons were used by the Romans in the construction of that wonderful flat roof of the cold bath which was the admiration of the ancients. It is unsafe, in fact, to assume that the Romans were unacquainted with any building methods or theory of architecture.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for this communication.

THURSDAY, 1st MARCH 1917.

Sir CHARLES HERCULES READ, Knt., LL.D., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The following gifts were announced, and thanks for the same ordered to be returned to the donors:

From W. J. Hemp, Esq., F.S.A.:—A calendar of the register of the Queen's Majesty's Council in the dominion and principality of Wales and the Marches of the same [1535] 1569–1591. Edited by Ralph Flenley. 8vo. London, 1916.

From the Author:—The 38th Regiment of Foot, now the 1st Battalion of the South Staffordshire Regiment. By Major W. J. Freer, V.D., D.L., F.S.A. 8vo. London, 1916.

This being an evening appointed for the election of Fellows no papers were read.

The ballot opened at 8.45 p.m. and closed at 9.30 p.m., when the following were declared elected Fellows of the Society:

Walter Peacock, Esq., C.V.O.
George Buckston Browne, Esq., M.R.C.S.
Richard William Goulding, Esq.
Rev. Arthur Frederick Sutton.
Major Henry Harriott Woollright.
Henry Harold Hughes, Esq.
Andrew Thomas Taylor, Esq.

THURSDAY, 8th MARCH 1917.

Sir ARTHUR JOHN EVANS, Knt., D.Litt., F.R.S., President, in the Chair.

The following gifts were announced, and thanks for the same ordered to be returned to the donors:

From C. E. Keyser, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.:—Some old Devon churches, Vols. ii and iii. By John Stabb. 8vo. London, 1911, 1916.

From W. J. Hemp, Esq., F.S.A.:—Lithographic sketch of the north bank of the Thames, from Westminster Bridge to London Bridge, showing the proposed quay. By Lt.-Col. Trench. obl. fol. London, 1825.

From the Author:—A history of Monmouthshire from the coming of the Normans into Wales down to the present time. Vol. ii. By J. A. Bradney, C.B., M.A., F.S.A. fol. London, 1914.

George Buckston Browne, Esq., was admitted a Fellow.

G. F. Hill, Esq., M.A., read the following notes on a gold ring with the letters of St. Agatha, exhibited by R. C. Witt, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.:

The ring, which I have the honour to describe to the Society, is the property of Mr. R. C. Witt, and is seen, from its style and from the lettering of its inscriptions, to date from the fourteenth century (fig. 1). In the flat octagonal bezel is set a nicolo engraved with a head; round the bezel is engraved an inscription, in reverse, so as to be used for sealing. The hoop, which is hollow, and expands towards the shoulders so as to allow of a leaf-shaped decoration, is also engraved (but of course not in

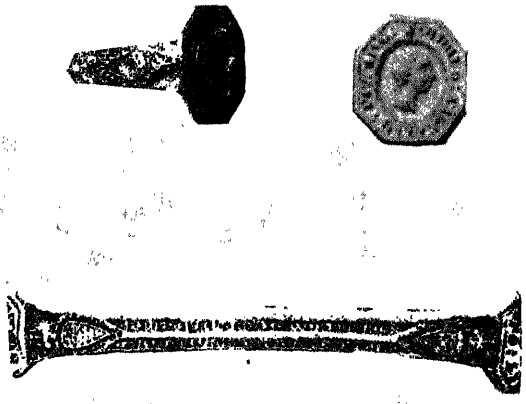


Fig. 1. GOLD RING WITH THE LETTERS OF ST. AGATHA.

reverse) with an inscription in two lines. The engraving on the stone, which is evidently of Roman workmanship, is a beardless male head to right (in impression), with short hair. The inscription on the bezel is ✠ANNLO : PIRRELLA : PISANO :

The inscription[1] on the hoop is

✠MENTEM : SANTAM : SPONTANE
AM : HONOREM : DEO : PATRIE : LIBER

Whether the two inscriptions were engraved by the same hand is not quite certain; but the slight difference in character between them may be due to one being engraved in reverse.

As to the intaglio, there is no more to be said about it than is usually to be said of the innumerable intagli which are vaguely

[1] It is due to the skill of Mr. Augustus Ready that I am able to reproduce the inscription on the hoop, as well as on the bezel, from plaster casts.

called Roman. It may perhaps be ascribed to the third century. The fact that a kind of agate has been set in this particular ring is, however, as we shall see, not without significance. The inscription on the bezel identifies the ring as the property of 'Pirrellu Pisano'. The absence of any preposition before the man's name need not surprise us. But the form of the first name raises a philological point which I should like to discuss briefly. The confusion of *o* and *u*, so familiar to us, for instance, in the alternative forms *Lodovico* and *Ludovico*, is, I believe, common in documents written by illiterate Italians.[1] In a short, verbless inscription, where a pretence may be made of writing Latin, it is difficult to tell whether the *-u* termination is an abbreviation for *-us*, or represents *-o*. Thus on a sixteenth-century print[2] we find ROMVLV E REMVLV, which is probably meant for ROMVLVS ET REMVLVS (*sic*). In PETRVS MOCENIGV' DVX, on the seal of Piero Mocenigo (1474–6)[3] the word is clearly abbreviated. Among the fourteenth-century rings in the British Museum are two[4] inscribed respectively *Noariu de Petruciu* and *Eola* (for *Cola*?) *Rubinu*. I am unable to say whether the tendency to replace *o* by *u*, especially in terminations, survived generally in Italy down to the fourteenth century, or whether it was by that time limited to certain districts. Subject to correction on this point, the suggestion may be made that the form *Pirrellu* may perhaps point to a Sicilian origin, since it is in Sicily that Tuscan *o*, down to the present day, is regularly represented by *u* in final and accented syllables: *fratello*, for instance, becomes *fratellu*.[5] It is true that the two other words in this inscription end in *-o* as usual. It is possible, however, that the engraver was endeavouring to use the ordinary Italian forms, but found it difficult to do so with a baptismal name, which would sound strange to him except with the familiar *-u* termination. 'Pirrellu' would appear to be a diminutive of 'Pirro'; although, if it is legitimate to assume a mistake, it might be for 'Pierello', from Piero. But this is a matter which I must leave to others who are more competent than myself in Italian philology.

[1] Ducange has 'V pro O scriptum frequenter ab antiquis librariis monet idem Baluzius in Notis ad Capitul. col. 990, quod ex corrupta enunciatione factum esse existimo'.

[2] A. M. Hind, Br. Mus. *Catal. of Ital. Engr.*, p. 317, no. 21.

[3] Birch, Br. Mus. *Catal. of Seals*, no. 22,212.

[4] Dalton, Br. Mus. *Catal. of Rings*, nos. 231 and 261.

[5] It must not be forgotten, however, that this phenomenon is found in other Italian islands, and also in Liguria, so that Ascoli speaks of it as 'fenomeno insulare per eccellenza, il quale collega la Corsica con la Sardegna e con la Sicilia, ma pur con la Liguria' (*Archiv. Glottol. Ital.* viii, pp. 111–12). There are also considerable traces of it in the Neapolitan district.

I merely mention, without urging, the possibility of a Sicilian origin for the name of the owner, because the connexion with Sicily is borne out, or at any rate encouraged, by the inscription on the hoop, which is nothing less than the epitaph said to have been engraved by divine hands on the stone tablet which was placed in the tomb of St. Agatha, the patron saint of Catania. The Virgin Martyr is believed to have suffered about the year 252. Her cult was flourishing, even outside Sicily, by the end of the fifth century. The Acts of St. Agatha are not so old as that, but we need not discuss their age, since we are concerned only with their effect on the minds of the people of the middle ages who believed them to be genuine.

The story[1] may be read most conveniently, as usual, in the *Golden Legend*, how, as the corpse of the saint was being laid in the tomb, there came a fair young man, accompanied by more than a hundred others in rich attire, and laid at her head a marble tablet, on which were engraved the words 'Mentem sanctam spontaneam honorem Deo patrie liberationem'. The angelic mourners then disappeared. The force of her claim to be called the deliverer of her country was seen a year later, when the city was threatened with destruction by the lava of Mount Etna. The veil which covered the saint's head was taken and carried on a lance to meet the fiery flood, which was immediately stayed. Carrera, the author of an elaborate and tedious life of the saint,[2] says that this miracle was wrought no less than nine times between her death and 1635. There was a tradition that the tablet was carried off by a Cremonese priest in the year 568; and there is no doubt that in the church of St. Agatha at Cremona there was, perhaps still is, held in great reverence such a tablet, which was effective in dispelling fire and lightning.[3] A later historian[4] has qualms about accepting so early a date for the translation of this relic, since Cremona was practically destroyed in 603; he suggests that the translation took place sometime after A.D. 1000. It is perhaps not unduly sceptical to go a little farther, and remark that, since the inscription in itself was generally believed to be of magical effect, it was quite unnecessary for the priest to steal the actual stone from Catania; all he had to do was to inscribe the words anew. A church dedicated to St. Agatha can hardly have been complete without such an inscription.

[1] *Acta Sanctorum*, Boll., V Febr., p. 623; Sarum Breviary (Cambridge ed.), vol. iii, p. 159. The story is also given in the Capuan Breviary, according to Carrera. Both forms *spontaneam* and *spontaneum* occur in the MSS. of the Acts, but the former is far the commoner in all later versions of the story. See below.

[2] *Memorie historiche di Catania* (1641).

[3] Carrera, ii, pp. 422–3.

[4] L. Manini, *Mem. stor. di Cremona*, 1819–20, ii, p. 109.

It would be interesting to know whether the stone still exists in the church, and what light the form of the lettering throws on its date—inquiries which it is difficult to make in the present state of affairs. However this may be, the form of words was very popular in the middle ages.[1] Odo of Chateauroux, bishop of Tusculum in the middle of the thirteenth century, took it as the text of a sermon.[2] The formula was popularly known, in English at least, as 'St. Agatha's Letters'.[3]

But the chief use of the words was as a charm to be placed on church bells,[4] a use clearly dictated by their supposed efficacy against fire and lightning. Several bells in churches at Rome were inscribed with them: for instance, at St. Peter's, the small bell which was rung to tell the time of the first Mass, and at Vespers on festivals, before the larger bells began; also a bell in S. Maria Maggiore;[5] and it is noted by Barbier de Montault[6] as occurring in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries at St. John Lateran, Sant' Agnese fuori le Mura, and S. Benedetto in Piscinula; as well as on a bell, cast in 1553 by Maestro Constantino d'Altavilla, in the cathedral at Benevento.

The largest number of instances has been collected from France.

[1] It is noticeable that either because the translation of the Latin was difficult, or, more likely, because special virtue resided in the original wording, the formula is not translated into English in such a popular work as Caxton's *Golden Legend*. It is, however, in the early South-English Legendary edited by Horstmann (E. E. T. S. 1887, p. 197, vv. 117, 118): 'Þis Maide hadde holi þouȝt: god heo dude honour, | A-served heo hath to alle þe contreie: deliueraunce of langour.'

[2] Allard, in Cabrol, *Dict. d'Arch. Chrét.*, i, p. 850.

[3] Brand's *Popular Antiquities* (1893), iii, p. 271, quoting from 'The Burnynge of St. Paul's Church in London', 1561: 'They be superstitious that put holinesse in S. Agatha's Letters, for burninge houses.' I have not been able to verify either the statement of Ellacombe, *Bells of the Church*, p. 248, that it is given among the charms in the British Museum MS. Add. 15236, or that of Albert Way, in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, May 1844, p. 495, that it is prescribed 'for fyre' in MS. Add. 12195. But neither author gives a reference to the folio of the MS. he quotes, and my search has not been exhaustive. In the last-mentioned MS. on f. 121 b some one has scribbled the whole formula twice, and the first two words a third time, but without reference to fire. Many of the writers on this subject quote the lines

St. Agatha defends thy house
From fire and fearful flames

from Barnabe Googe's *Popish Kingdom*.

[4] See L. Germain in *Bulletin de la Soc. Archéol. du Midi de la France*, 1887, pp. 31–3, who disposes of the legend that this formula occurs on coins.

[5] These two are mentioned by Angelo Rocca, *de Campanis* (1612), pp. 55 f, 92; *Opera* (1719), vol. i, pp. 165–6, 173; a reference which I owe to Mr. G. McN. Rushforth.

[6] In *Revue de l'Art Chrétien*, 1888, p. 327.

Joseph Berthelé[1] gives a long list of French bells, extant or lost, dating from 1239 (Sidiailles, Cher) to 1626 (Bussy-Saint-Georges, Seine-et-Marne), with a revival in 1896. It appears that the formula was hardly ever employed after the sixteenth century except when recasting old bells which bore it.[2]

There is an interesting record of the recasting in 1605 of the bells in the church of St. Agatha at Crépy-en-Valois. 'Sur la plus grosse cloche estoit escript: Xpistus vincit' etc.—'Sur la moyenne: Mentem fac sanctam, spontaneam, honorem Deo et patriae liberationem.'[3]

The formula does not seem to be recorded on German bells.[4]

For England, Messrs. H. T. Tilley and H. B. Walters give the following examples:[5] the great bell formerly at Kenilworth given by Thomas of Kidderminster in 1402, a bell formerly at Preen, Shropshire, and an Italian bell now in a church at Hendon.[6] They add, from Switzerland, a bell at Bex, and also mention a tile from Malvern Priory as being in the Wallace Collection. This last statement, however, seems to be due to a confusion with a decorative disc of majolica of Faenza, dated 1521, and bearing this inscription and the design of the Virgin and Child (fig. 2).[7] The design is described in the Catalogue as being 'apparently adapted from a late fifteenth-century Netherlandish or German Engraving'. It can have nothing to do with Malvern Priory. The tiles in or from that church, which bear that inscription, have no figure design, but a cinquefoil, surrounded by a circle which, with the square marginal border, is inscribed with the formula (fig. 3). There are two of these tiles in the British Museum,[8] and, I am informed by Mr. Rushforth,[9] there are at least seven

[1] *Enquêtes campanaires* (Montpellier, 1903), pp. 329–30.

[2] *Ephemeris Campanographica*, i, p. 318.

[3] Ministère de l'Instruction Publique, *Catalogue des Mss. conservés dans les Dépôts d'Archives Départementales*, &c., 1886, p. 336. The introduction of the word *fac* turns the formula into a prayer.

[4] Otherwise it would doubtless have been given by K. Walter, *Glockenkunde* (Regensburg, 1913), a book which, though there is nothing to indicate the fact on its title-page, is almost entirely confined to German bells. According to this writer the modern bell (1838) of St. Apollonia in Alpthal (Switzerland) bears the invocation: 'Sancta Agatha, a terrestris ignibus et aeterni periculo, libera nos'.

[5] *Church Bells of Warwickshire* (1910), p. 177.

[6] *Notes and Queries*, 9th Ser., ix, p. 406.

[7] Wallace Collection, Gallery III, Case C, no. 127 (Catalogue 1904, p. 55).

[8] R. L. Hobson, *Catal. of the Coll. of English Pottery* (1903), p. 34, A 265; p. 37, A 285. Of only the former is it stated that it comes from Malvern, but both are of the Malvern pattern.

[9] Whom I have to thank for all the information here given on this matter, as well as for a photograph of one of the Malvern tiles, from which fig. 3 is made.

set in the wall round the apse of the Priory church.[1] The same kind of tile is also found at Monmouth, in St. Mary's church,[2] and is known from examples at Cotheridge and Shrewsbury.[3]

Finally, it may be noted that the formula is inscribed on the silver bier on which the relics of St. Agatha are annually carried through the streets of Catania;[4] and naturally it is found in various places in churches dedicated to the Saint, as on her church in Malta.[5]



Fig. 2. MAJOLICA DISC IN THE WALLACE COLLECTION.

Patient search, if it were worth while, would probably result in the discovery of many other uses of the charm. Whether it

[1] J. G. Nichols, *Examples of Decorative Tiles* (1845), p. viii and no. 75; James Nott, *Malvern Priory Church* (1896), fig. vii on plate at p. 77; cp. p. 81. The inscription is *mentem sanctam spontaneū honorem deo et patrie liberacionem.*

[2] H. G. Griffinhoofe, *Mediaeval Tiles in St. Mary's Church, Monmouth* (1894), pp. 15 f.

[3] Nichols, *loc. cit.*; A. S. Porter, in the *Antiquary*, xxi (1891), p. 113; *Notes and Queries*, ser. iv, vol. xi, p. 278.

[4] *Arch. Stor. Sicil.*, N. S., xvii, 1892–3, p. 200.

[5] Carrera, *op. cit.* ii, p. 435.

is actually found on other rings I have not been able to discover, with the following possible exception. I would like to suggest that the much worn and hardly legible inscription on another fourteenth-century Italian ring in the British Museum [1] represents the formula in a broken-down and misunderstood form. The inscription is read by Mr. Dalton as 'Mente m . . . ct m . . . ont. re mon'. It seems possible that the letters following the first word *mentem* are the remains: *ct m* of (*san*)*ct*(*a*)*m*, *ont* of

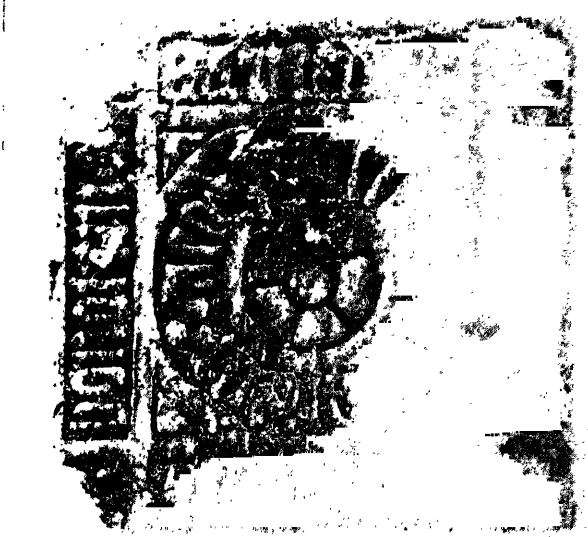


Fig. 3. TILE IN MALVERN PRIORY CHURCH.

(*sp*)*ont*(*aneam*), *rem* of (*hono*)*rem*. In the case of such charms, as long as you got the first word right, the rest (since it was obviously known to the angels) did not matter, and could even be omitted altogether; thus on the bezel of this same ring we have the single word *verbum* for the formula *verbum caro factum est*, &c.

It seems clear, in any case, that Pirrellu Pisano (who was probably not a Pisan, but a member of the Sicilian family of Pisani) had this ring made as a talisman against death by lightning or fire, and set in it an agate intaglio as the stone most

[1] Dalton, *Catal.*, p. 45, no. 259. The ring is at present unfortunately inaccessible for further examination.

appropriate to the saint whose protection he invoked.[1] Nor is it, I think, altogether fanciful to suppose that the choice of the stone may have been helped by his name, if Pirrellu is really a diminutive of Pirro. For in the mind of the fourteenth century the agate was specially connected with King Pyrrhus, if we may take Fazio degli Uberti[2] to be representative of the general attitude of fourteenth-century scholars.

Acato fiume dà l' acata pietra
Che molto a Pirro fu già cara e nuova.

This is doubtless founded on the statement of Solinus and Pliny that King Pyrrhus had a famous agate ring, engraved with Apollo and the nine Muses.

Nevertheless, whatever be the significance of the stone in the ring with which we are concerned, it was the ring with its formula, not the stone, that was really important in Pirrellu's eyes. That is why the inscription round the intaglio speaks of the ring, not the seal, of Pirrellu Pisano.

The formula is found, as I have already noted, with both forms—*spontaneam*, agreeing with *mentem*, and *spontaneum*, referred to *honorem*. The former is perhaps the commoner; but the latter has the official sanction of the order of the service for the feast of St. Agatha at Catania: 'Da . . . mentem sanctam sortiri, spontaneum tibi honorem tribuere eius precibus, quae etiam patriae liberationem obtinuit.'[3] There is indeed one version of the formula which runs 'Mens sancta, honor in Deum voluntarius et patriae redemptio', but it does not appear to have any ancient authority.[4]

The PRESIDENT said the Society was indebted to Mr. Hill for a learned and interesting discourse on the ring, one of the most striking points being the significance of the stone. It was curious that a material which was the principal producer of fire should be regarded as its antidote. There was much to be said in favour of a Sicilian origin for the ring, and he

[1] Sicily was one of the chief sources of agate in antiquity. (Pliny, *N. H.* xxxvii. 139, says the stone took its name from the river Achates in Western Sicily). Carrera (ii, p. 234) is at pains to trace a resemblance between its virtues and those of St. Agatha, but without much success. Those who look for such analogies may trace one between the agate as a cure for all kinds of fevers (Orph. *Lith.* 627 ff.) and the invocation of the Saint against fire.

[2] *Dittamondo*, Lib. III, cap. xiii.

[3] Quoted by Barbier de Montault, *loc. cit.* I note here, as a curiosity, the rendering of the formula, in a modern Italian devotional life of the Saint, by 'Mente *Sana*—Onore Spontaneo A Dio—Liberazione della Patria' (C. M. Vella, Vita di S. Agata, Palermo, 1884, p. 149).

[4] Giry, in his *Vies des Saints* (ed. 1719, i. 510), quoted by L. Germain in *Bull. de la Soc. Archéol. du Midi de la France*, 1887, p. 32.

exhibited another from the island, obtained years ago at Trapani, near Eryx. It was of Byzantine character, with the Crucifixion inlaid in niello, as was the Latin inscription, *Gloria in excelsis Deo, et in terra pax*; and its date could be absolutely fixed. In the museum at Palermo was a series of rings of the same fabric with similar inscriptions either in Latin or Greek, associated with the treasure of Constans II, who was murdered at Syracuse in 688. His own ring belonged to that treasure, but had become detached from it in some way. In the seventh century there still lingered the Latin idea of the Roman empire, as proved by the legends on coins and rings in that treasure. (See illustration.)





BYZANTINE RING FROM SICILY.

Mr. R. C. Witt thought that the ring might serve a more useful purpose in the British Museum than in his own possession, and hoped the authorities would accept it as a gift if they considered it of sufficient importance.

Sir Hercules Read assured Mr. Witt that for quality, value, and appropriateness the ring would be most welcome in his department, and he was sure the Trustees would accept it with gratitude. It gave him much pleasure to speak on Mr. Hill's admirable paper, which was a wonderful story illustrated from many fields of research. It gave to the finger-ring a very varied interest, and all should be grateful for the labour bestowed on the subject. The ring was crowded with ornament, and there was no doubt as to the classical origin of the intaglio. In his experience it was as common to find antique gems in rings of that date as gems of contemporary workmanship.

Mr. G. F. Hill associated himself with Sir Hercules Read in acknowledging Mr. Witt's liberality in a matter in which he himself had been an unconscious agent. The legend *mentem sanctam spontaneam* . . . might be fitly quoted in that connexion. Like most papers, his had been enriched by help in many direc-

tions, Mr. Borenius for example having given the hint as to the Sicilian origin of the ring.

The PRESIDENT, as a Trustee of the British Museum, assured Mr. Witt that his gift would be thoroughly appreciated, and was gratified to see a paper of such interest followed by an act of real munificence.

The PRESIDENT also exhibited a gold ring of the tenth century, found at Oxford, and said to have come from Scandinavia. (See illustration.)



ANGLO-SAXON GOLD RING FOUND AT OXFORD.

Mr. REGINALD SMITH favoured an earlier date for the gold ring than that given on the label. It was a great achievement to recover intact such a rich example of native art; though in his opinion of the Viking period, it was purely Anglo-Saxon in character, and belonged to a small class chiefly represented in the British and Ashmolean Museums. The Secretary had noticed in daylight that the lozenge inset of the bezel was of paler gold than the rest. It might have been added to replace a lost stone, but was evidently pre-Norman, as the cruciform design formed of interlacing semicircles was quite in keeping, and might be compared with the Peterborough ring. Its bulkiness was characteristic of the period, and the scroll-work an inheritance from Carolingian art. The nearest parallel in England for style was the Kirkoswald brooch,[1] found with coins dating between 796 and 854, and he was inclined to date the present ring about 900. A gold ring of much the same character, but with four animal heads rather in the Irish style, was in the possession of Lord Fitzhardinge and had been published by Mr. Clifford Smith.[2]

[1] *Proceedings*, xxiii, 305.

[2] *Jewellery*, pl. xiii, fig. 10, p. 73.

CHARLES BORRADAILE, Esq., exhibited a panel of Rhenish enamel of the thirteenth century, on the back of an older plate, on which Sir HERCULES READ, LL.D., Vice-President, read the following note:

The little object that I have the honour to bring to the notice of the Society this evening, though pretty and interesting enough, belongs to a type so well known that it would have been hardly worth special note, were it not for certain peculiarities to which I shall have the pleasure of calling your attention.

As can be seen from the illustration (fig. 1), it is a panel, $2\frac{3}{16}$ in. long by $1\frac{7}{8}$ in. high, of copper, decorated with champlevé enamel

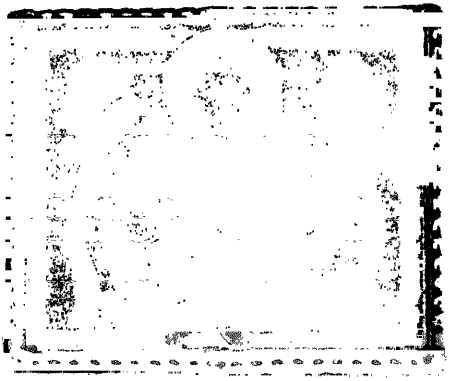


Fig. 1. COLOGNE ENAMEL OF ST. REYNOFLE, ABOUT 1260 ($\frac{1}{1}$).

and gilt. The subject is the figure of a saint whose name is set out on either side of her head, viz.: S REGENVLFA. She is seated on a low but wide stool with a crescent-shaped upper part or cushion, her right hand raised in benediction, and in the left, which is hidden in her cloak, a book or some such object; on either side is a very formal tree.[1]

This saint is a little known person, in modern spelling Sainte Reynofle; in medieval times her name is variously spelled Regnolfa, Reinofre, Ragenufla. She is supposed to have lived in the seventh century. She retired and lived in a forest with her maid to avoid a marriage that her family wished her to make. Here she died, and cripples and other infirm people are represented as coming to her tomb, while a spring near her habita-

[1] For this cf. *Collection Martin le Roy*, vol. i, pl. vii, no. 9.

tion was held to possess miraculous virtues.[1] So much for the saint. The colours of the enamel are those usually found in the enamels of the twelfth century—blue, white, green, yellow. The saint's cloak is green shading to yellow, her skirt and nimbus blue shading to white, the trees being of the same combinations. As I have said, all these features are well known, and all great museums possess examples of this well-known art, which flourished in great perfection on the Meuse and the Rhine in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The back of the panel now before us is, however, the most interesting part of it (fig. 2). We have here what is evidently an unfinished sketch for a design similar



Fig. 2. UNFINISHED PANEL OF COLOGNE ENAMEL, ABOUT 1140 (½).

to that now ornamenting the front. The artist has begun by outlining his design with a sharp point, and has then proceeded to hollow out the cavities into which the enamel would eventually be fused. This process has only gone a very little way, for the cavities are not yet deep enough for the enamel, nor are the contours of the design slender enough, while the features are only sketched in. Further, as I shall show later, the design as a whole was intended to possess other features, of which the sketch gives no indications. It seems fairly clear that we have here a little plaque which an artist has set out to prepare for enamelling; it has been for some reason condemned, and then the other side has been utilized for another design which has had a more successful career.

[1] Cahier, *Caractéristiques des Saints*, pp. 43, 387.

A good deal has been written about the many remarkable examples of this art, and one of the most exhaustive books of recent times is that of Dr. Otto von Falke, which had its origin in the exhibition of medieval art in Düsseldorf in 1902.[1] A still more remarkable book, considering the time at which it was written, is an essay on glass and enamel by our former President, Sir Wollaston Franks, at that time Director of the Society.[2] In this interesting essay is to be found a somewhat detailed description of a now well-known portable altar then at Hanover, which is of special importance as bearing the signature of the maker in these terms, EILBERTUS COLONIENSIS ME FECIT. In looking through both of these volumes for details like those of our little panel, I came across elaborate illustrations of the Eilbert altar which forms part of the Guelph treasure belonging to the Duke of Cumberland, and is now at Vienna, where it is shown in a gallery by itself. The illustrations did not especially resemble the figure of St. Reynofle, but I observed that the designs of the apostles were somewhat singular, and that they had characters in common with the sketched design on the back of the Reynofle plaque. On the altar each of the apostles is enclosed in a square frame, within the outer border of the design, and a broad band crosses the panel at the level of the head, the nimbus cutting it in two. The figure of the saint or apostle in our sketch has all these peculiarities, though of course not so obvious as if the enamel had been filled in. Having got so far, the matter became of special interest. The size of the altar as a whole is given by von Falke, and from his figure I worked out the size of the panels set in it, with the result that the four oblong panels of the apostles proved to be of practically the same size as the one before us this evening. I think this is satisfactory, for it provides us with the date and place of the manufacture as well as the name of the artist, for there can be no question that Mr. Borradaile's panel and the Guelph altar are by the same hand or at the least from the same workshop and of the same date. The broad plain band in our panel has clearly been left for a line of inscription as on the altar, and the two correspond in the general scheme of the design, which is by no means of a commonplace character. My first impression was that I had to deal with a rejected panel for this very altar, and it seems not unlikely that this was the case, some error in the design having caused it to be rejected.

The question of the date of this Eilbert shrine is carefully

[1] *Deutsche Schmelzarbeiten des Mittelalters*, Frankfort, 1904, p. 21, pl. 17.

[2] *Examples of Ornamental Art in Glass and Enamel* (from the Manchester Exhibition of 1857), by A. W. Franks.

discussed by von Falke. As Franks pointed out in the year 1857, it is clearly of the twelfth century, a date that has been accepted by every one who has come after him. Von Falke, however, has been able to arrive at a little more precision by comparing it with all the available material at Düsseldorf, and chiefly with the shrine of St. Victor at Xanten. This remarkable piece, though greatly damaged and deplorably restored, has still a great deal of the original left. This shrine is credibly believed to have been completed in the year 1129. Von Falke believes it, as well as the shrine of St. Maurice at Siegburg, to be the work of Eilbert of Cologne and the general date of the make of the three to be the second quarter of the twelfth century. This is a somewhat earlier date than I should have been disposed to set down, but von Falke is, or was, a very clear-headed person, and I should be disposed to trust his judgement on a point of the kind, more particularly as he had, at the time he was writing this book, the opportunity of handling and comparing at close quarters nearly all the principal examples of this class of work.

Assuming the question of the date of the back of our little panel to be settled, there still remains the little lady on the front. Here we have a different decorative method, where the ground is gilt and the design in enamel. On the Eilbert altar the ground is of enamel and the designs in gilding. This in itself does not imply any difference either in date or in the place of manufacture, for in the fine Marriage Casket in the Museum, of Limoges work, we have both these methods side by side and contemporary.

On all grounds I should be inclined to set the figure of St. Reynolfe down to about the year 1260.

I am glad to be able to announce that this very charming little relic is being offered by Mr. Borradaile as a gift to the British Museum.

The PRESIDENT thought the connexion brought out in the paper was satisfactory even in minute details such as the measurements and halo on the reverse of the plaque. The evidence virtually proved that it was of the same date and origin as the Vienna altar-piece; and it was most satisfactory in researches of that kind to be able to assign an absolute date.

Col. CROFT-LYONS was glad of an opportunity of stating that any credit for obtaining details of St. Renulfa was due not to himself but to Mr. Dalton.

W. L. HILDBURGH, Esq., F.S.A., exhibited some fragments of French and Spanish medieval enamels.

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Sir HERCULES READ had been interested in seeing the exhibits, which were familiar as types, and hesitated to assign a Spanish origin except in one case. Spanish enamels of that kind were rougher and ruder in workmanship, and were executed in cloisonné, not champlevé, though they simulated the method adopted at Limoges. That the champlevé process was also used in Spain was proved by the abundance of horse-trappings and coats-of-arms, which were half Moorish and half European; but the plaques exhibited, though of rude workmanship, could not be safely assigned to any manufacturing centre but Limoges, which was in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries what Birmingham was in modern times. Enamels were turned out wholesale to suit every taste and pocket, and some rough work was inevitable. Poor churches had to be content with imperfectly filled designs.

Dr. HILDBURGH in reply could recall no Limoges specimens of the kind exhibited, but was not sure of their Spanish origin except in the case of the small square. He had seen specimens similar to that claimed in books for Limoges.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for these communications and exhibitions.

THURSDAY, 15th MARCH 1917.

Sir ARTHUR JOHN EVANS, Knt., D.Litt., F.R.S., President, in the Chair.

Major Henry Harriott Woollright was admitted a Fellow.

Sir HERCULES READ, LL.D., Vice-President, exhibited a panel of tapestry representing the Holy Trinity between St. Mary the Virgin, St. Mary Magdalene, and other saints, which will be published in *Archaeologia*.

The PRESIDENT thought the treatment of the tapestry most convincing. The colouring was of extraordinary brilliance and the general aspect effective, but he would have been glad to find the work attributed to some other country. A good case for England had been made out, but he had listened with a certain amount of prejudice to the arguments, which appeared to be unanswerable. Foreign experts had been unanimous in

rejecting it as work of their own countries, and in itself the tapestry was repugnant to modern taste. Its character was devoid of any majesty or even dignity, and betrayed the lowest conception of art. The disappearance of such a tradition was a matter for thankfulness, but as the subject was not his own, he preferred to maintain an impartial attitude.

Mr. DEARLE said there was nothing to add to the paper as regarded the artistic treatment of the subject, but thought a few remarks on the development of tapestry might be acceptable in view of the early stage exemplified in the exhibit. His own impressions on first seeing the tapestry turned out to coincide with those given to the meeting by Sir Hercules Read, and he was glad to see they were in agreement from two distinct points of view.

PHILIP NORMAN, Esq., LL.D., Vice-President, read the following paper on a piece of embroidery formerly in a church in the province of Helsingland, Sweden, and now in the Historical State Museum, Stockholm:

I owe this exhibition to the kindness of Mr. Carl Cederlöf of the Swedish Consulate-General in London, who years ago helped on the subject of those curious Swedish painted cloths representing chiefly Biblical subjects, some of them as late as the middle of the nineteenth century, which the peasants used to hang up in their houses, and of which I have exhibited two examples.

The piece of ancient Swedish needlework here reproduced comes from the parish church of Skog in the province of Helsingland, and the Swedish authorities think that it was originally put up there as a hanging on the chancel wall. It has undergone various vicissitudes, having, I am told, been finally used as a cover for the 'bridal crown' of the church, before it was presented to the Historical State Museum in Stockholm in 1914. It will be seen that the work is of considerable interest, and presents problems which in the present condition of our knowledge of early Swedish textile art are not easy to solve.

It is embroidered with woollen yarn on a foundation of fine linen, and the design, although decorative in colour and general effect, is mostly of very primitive type. Among the representations a church occupies much space. The style of architecture shows that it is a 'stavkyrka', or early timber-built church. A priest stands before the altar celebrating Mass. A 'sanctus' bell in a turret over the roof of the nave is being rung by a rope from within, and two large bells are being rung in a belfry to the right, but only one of them is here visible, as in our illustration the design, being damaged, is cut off at the ends.

Large birds are perched on the roof of the church, while besides the priest and the ringers, there are various artlessly drawn human figures, forming the congregation within and without; a characteristic feature of their costume is that most of them wear trousers or divided skirts. The remaining space is chiefly occupied by creatures of nondescript form, and what appear to be monstrous dogs. The borders are of geometrical character, chiefly entwined bands, in form not unlike the tiles of the church.

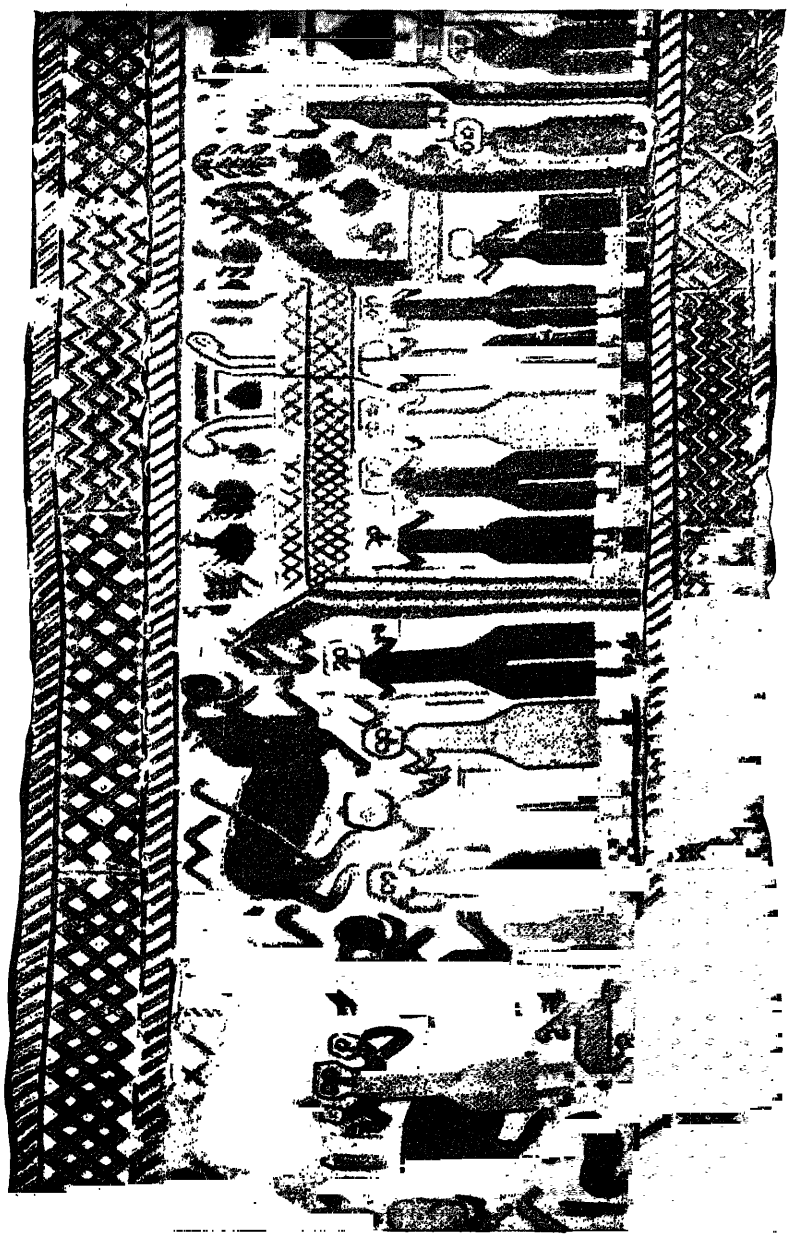
It is, I believe, generally accepted as a fact that early Scandinavian art, whether it be Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, or Icelandic, is of common origin, and that much of its inspiration, whether directly or indirectly, comes from the East. Among other examples of resemblance I have lately seen a fragment of silk embroidery from a burial-ground in Egypt of the early Arabic period, probably the ninth century, which has figures like those here shown. Again, late Scandinavian textile work is apt to appear archaic owing to the persistence of older types. In the Victoria and Albert Museum are textile fabrics from various parts of Scandinavia, some of them as late as the seventeenth century, having simple ornament not unlike that on the borders of the Skog embroidery, which is doubtless a repetition of patterns used in pre-Christian art.

Since writing what precedes I have been able to communicate with Mr. Andreas Lindblom, who has great knowledge of Scandinavian textile art, and has sent me a small handbook on the subject, written for the Historical State Museum of Stockholm. I venture to supplement my paper by the following remarks founded on information given therein.

It seems that there is reference to the art of Scandinavian embroidery in early Christian times. We hear, for instance, of a woman called Jungfru Ingunn, living in Iceland about the year 1000, who, according to the old Bishop-sagas (Biskops-sagorna), made cloths and other pieces of embroidered work 'on which she illustrated holy men's lives, thus proclaiming the glory of God not only by speech but also by her own handicraft'.

After the passing of heathendom Sweden was influenced in her art both by Germany and France. As regards ecclesiastical affairs, she was largely dependent on Germany until about the year 1100. Continental decorative work, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, was characterized by a feeling against realistic imitation of nature, the tendency being towards conventional and symbolic designs. A similar tendency is apparent in Swedish heathen art. It was this similarity of object which, when the time came, enabled Swedish craftsmen so completely

To face page 130



EMBROIDERY FROM THE CHURCH OF SKOG, HELSINGLAND, SWEDEN

to assimilate the Romanesque or Norman style that they appeared to make it their own. Gothic decoration with its softer conventions, and afterwards with its more pronounced realism, has never been so well understood, nor has it so much influenced Swedish craftsmen as the earlier Norman art.

I would add that Mr. Lindblom believes the Skog embroidery to be not later than about the beginning of the twelfth century. The trousers worn by most of the figures are characteristic of that date. During the thirteenth century, and until the end of the middle ages, both men and women wore only skirted garments. In his opinion the work may show Eastern influence. He tells me that an important work is now in progress on Swedish textile fabrics; when it is published much light will be thrown on a subject which as yet has not been thoroughly understood.

Thanks are due to Mr. Lindblom; also to Mr. Cederlöf and to Miss Elsa Broman, to whom I am indebted for this fine reproduction of a unique piece of Swedish needlework.

The PRESIDENT remarked that trousers, which had caused astonishment by appearing in such an early work of art, were known to date back at least to the Early Iron Age.

WILLIAM DALE, Esq., F.S.A., exhibited a photograph of a carved capital, dated between 1120 and 1140, representing a moneyer at work, in the abbey church of St.-Georges-de-Boscherville, near Rouen, on which he read the following notes:

The carving which I am bringing before the notice of the Society is, so far as I know, the earliest representation in Western Europe of the ancient process of coining or striking money by means of the hammer. This was the only way of producing coin, otherwise than by casting, until the time of Queen Elizabeth, when milled sixpences were made by screw pressure. Hammered money, however, continued to be made up to the days of the Stuarts, and the screw press did not finally supplant the hammer until the middle of the seventeenth century. A wall-painting at Pompeii illustrates the method of striking money in Roman times.

The twelfth-century representation to which I direct attention is found on the exterior of the abbey church of St.-Martin-de-Boscherville, about 12 miles from Rouen, which became parochial after the Revolution. The abbey is well described in Cotman's *Antiquities of Normandy*. Cotman tells us it was founded in 1050, and probably finished by the time of the Norman Conquest.

The date given by Cotman for the building of the abbey was called in question by our Fellow, Mr. W. J. Andrew, who pointed out that the figure of the moneyer was bearded, and there were

other indications that the capital was carved somewhere about 1140. In answer to an inquiry the curé, the Abbé Hermier, replied that, although the abbey was said to have been founded in 1050, M. de Vedley, Conservateur of the French State Monuments, was of opinion that it was not begun until the early years of the twelfth century. The Abbé Hermier also said that there was a Benedictine touch in the architecture of the church and the Benedictines did not come to Boscherville until 1114. All this was confirmed by a reference to Dr. Round's *Calendar of Documents preserved in France*. In the Cartulary at Rouen there are preserved fifteen charters and four writs of benefactions to the abbey of St.-Georges-de-Boscherville, as it was then called, between the dates 1114 and 1198. The first of Henry I is dated by Dr. Round 1114, the year the Benedictines came, and is a charter confirming to the abbey the gifts of his father King William and his mother Queen Matilda, with other benefactions. It mentions that Ralph de Tancarville, his father's chief chamberlain, had built the church at his own cost and endowed it, and continues, 'but afterwards in the year 1114 William de Tancarville his chamberlain, son of the above Ralph, wishing to further endow the said church, besought him to let it be made an abbey, to which he consented'.

The second is a charter of Henry I assigned by Dr. Round to between 1115 and 1129, dated at Rouen and witnessed by John, bishop of Lisieux, Bernard, bishop of St. David's, Drogo de Monci, W. de Tancarville, and Geoffrey FitzPaine. It happens that a charter also of Henry I to the abbey of Fontevrault is witnessed at Rouen by all these witnesses except Drogo de Monci, and as it was granted in 1129 the coincidence proves both deeds to be of that year and no doubt executed on the same occasion. The importance of the charter lies in this, that it describes the church as the new abbey of St.-Georges-de-Boscherville, showing that between 1114 and 1129 the abbey had been erected in conformity with King Henry's consent.

We are thus on fairly safe ground in dating our moneyer somewhere between 1120 and 1140. The carving is found, so the abbé informs me, on the apse of the church near the chapter house, which was erected somewhat later.

From all I can learn this interesting carved capital does not appear to be in a very safe position. It is only about the height of your hand above the earth, which ought to be removed to the depth of at least a metre, but the ground is private property and the owner has objections. After referring to the difficulty in reproducing a subject which time has *rongé* during eight or nine centuries, the abbé continues:

Vous distinguerez sa main tenant un maillet ou marteau prêt à frapper.

Vous voyez encore le bras gauche et la main tenant une sorte de martelet plus épais. C'est la pièce à l'empreinte ou marque que le coup de marteau fixera sur la monnaie. Celle-ci est plus difficile à voir, il faut être comme moi, sur les lieux, pour bien constater et en saisir l'épaisseur et la rondeur. Veuillez pourtant essayer de la discerner. Vous voyez les deux jambes infléchies du fabricant, son genou droit vient buter contre un billot dont les contours sont bien accusés et rectangulaires : par dessus un morceau, à peu près carré, et dessus repose une vague petite couronne : c'est la pièce qui attend l'impression.

The portraiture is grotesque, and the question arises why such a singular subject should have been chosen. Perhaps it was some moneyer of Rouen who was not in favour with the builders. Another suggestion which I owe to Mr. Andrew is that as our Lord of old overthrew the tables of the money-changers and cast them out of the Temple, so the Benedictines of Boscherville cast out their moneyer and put him on the outside of their church.

Mr. QUARRELL mentioned that two stone carvings from the building were illustrated in Laurent Grillet's *Les ancêtres du violon*, and attributed to the twelfth century. One which the author apparently saw in the Musée des Antiquités at Rouen shows the *vièle* with four or five strings ; a second figure of a king held what was probably the most ancient example of the rote or the rubbebbe (the ribible or ribibe of Chaucer), a small two-stringed *vièle* held between the knees. Better preserved figures holding small lyres were on the west door of the twelfth-century church of Moissac, Tarn-et-Garonne. In an article by M. E. Toulmin Nicolle of the Société Jersiaise, Boscherville church was said to have been founded by Raoul de Tancarville in the eleventh century.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for these communications.

THURSDAY, 22nd MARCH 1917.

WILLIAM PAGE, Esq., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The following gifts were announced, and thanks for the same ordered to be returned to the donors :

From J. Challenor Smith, Esq., F.S.A. :—The history of Cottingham. By Rev. Charles Overton. 8vo. Hull, 1861.

From the Author:—Domesday Book: a popular account of the Exchequer manuscript so called. By W. de Gray Birch, LL.D., F.S.A. 2nd edition. 8vo. London, 1908.

From the Author:—The Lady Margaret Beaufort and King Henry VII. Part 2. By the Rev. W. D. Bushell, F.S.A. 8vo. London, 1916.

Andrew Thomas Taylor, Esq., was admitted a Fellow.

The attention of the meeting was called to the fact that Dr. William Greenwell, F.S.A., was now entering on his ninety-eighth year, and it was resolved that a message of congratulation be sent to him from the Society.

A. H. Cocks, Esq., F.S.A., read a paper on the excavation of a Roman villa at Hambleden, Bucks, which will be printed in *Archaeologia*.

The 'villa' was in the parish of Hambleden, Bucks, and comprised three large and several smaller buildings, partly enclosed by a wall; outside which was a large yard, crowded with remains of various kinds, including remnants of former walls apparently pulled down during the Roman occupation for the sake of the building material.

A remarkable feature of this site was a series of furnaces, of different types and sizes, the larger of which Professor Gowland had suggested were used for drying corn.

The coins, numbering over 800, had been worked out by Mr. Mill Stephenson, and (together with the pottery) seemed to indicate that the site was occupied not long after the middle of the first century, A.D., and continued to be so until the early years of the fifth century. There was, however, a gap in the coins of about fifty years, between Septimius Severus (193–211) and Gallienus (253–68).

Professor Keith attached particular importance to the human remains discovered, and regarded them as documents for those who were trying to unravel the history of the British people. It was seldom that such finds could be dated, but the skeletons of two men and a woman evidently belonged to the period of the Roman occupation. The most puzzling problem was to decide how far the population changed during those four centuries, especially as their immediate predecessors were, from the anatomical point of view, practically unknown to science. The people who lived in the centre of the northern area were more or less round-headed in the pre-Roman period. The fact that the Saxon head-form was not unlike a type found in England both in the pre-Roman and Roman periods made it difficult to detect

the Roman element. In his own experience such head-forms as those exhibited were not found before the Roman period, but the cephalic index was only one of many elements to be considered. Those particular Roman skulls were of the long variety, the forehead being prominent and the ridges above the eyes well marked, with a groove between them. Whence had they come to Britain? The type seemed most common along the Rhone valley, and differed essentially from the peoples of the long and round barrows: yet an influx of this type might have been before the Roman invasion. It was not enough to put the facts and measurements on record and then rebury the specimens. Knowledge was always growing, and future investigators would require to see them and draw their own conclusions. Such finds should be stored not in a provincial museum but in some central institution, where they would be treated as documents and rendered available for study. The rounded limb-bones, as opposed to the flatness of Bronze Age specimens, might be accounted for either by a change in habits of life, or by the advent of a new race. There was also a change in the teeth and jaws. The female subject was over forty years of age and yet had no third molars or wisdom teeth. It was not till the Roman period that the prominent nose became common in Britain; and his own impression was that a great proportion of the present population derived that feature from those who lived in Britain during the Roman period. That the site had evidently been a baby-farm was a puzzling discovery, reflecting on the morals of the period. All three subjects were of the working class, clearly not the inhabitants of the villa, but farm-hands; and it was curious that all were found under a heap of rubbish. He had heard from the Rev. J. W. Hayes of West Thurrock that two male and one female skeleton of the Roman period had been found there at the bottom of a pit that had never been filled in, 20 ft. to 30 ft. below the surface, and the date had been given by a sandal found in association. The parallelism of the finds was remarkable. At Hambleden there were many baby-skeletons and others of children of fifteen months, and of six or seven years, but none of the bones bore any marks of injury. The preservation of such slender bones was unusual, even those of a seven-months foetus being intact.

Mr. Forsyth remarked that the villa-site commanded fine views up and down the river-valley, and house no. 1 had evidently been planned to make the most of the view. The slope in the floors of that house had not been explained. In the long corridor there was a fall of 2 ft., which could not be accounted for by any sinking, but was due to haphazard levelling. The rooms were square, and the materials were flint and chalk, built with mortar and mud.

There was very little ashlar, but it was interesting to find that the walls were mason-built, and not treated as concrete. Their width was very uniform and showed that the settlement was one of some importance. It was difficult to see how house no. 1 was roofed, as there were no traces of piers down the centre: some of the spaces were perhaps open courts. The span would have been excessive for a timber roof. Beech was probably used for the timbering, and Mr. Cocks found that oak was also utilized.

Mr. HAYTER remarked that no certainty had been reached with regard to the ovens. No two of them were alike, and the construction of such different patterns required a certain amount of ingenuity. In default of other explanations, Professor Gowland's could be accepted as possible or even probable, especially as Mr. Bushe-Fox had found a good deal of burnt barley at the entrance of one of the largest. There was a good deal of rammed clay on the floors, which were probably used for threshing. His own view was that the corn was brought in to dry in *nubilaria*, which in Italy would have been open to the sky but in Britain had to be covered in for warmth: then it was spread on open *areae* for threshing. The richness of the site in small finds was extraordinary, and 800 coins in one season was quite an exceptional harvest. There was no reason to suppose the site was abandoned in the interval 196–260 A.D., as the output was very small during that period, and the break occurred at Corstopitum and elsewhere. The amount of Samian ware was large for a villa, and one pit had produced several whole pots. The green soapstone or jade scarab was probably the first of its kind from a Romano-British site. As the exhibition of the small finds was impossible, he recommended those interested to visit the museum at Hambleden.

Mr. STEPHENSON preferred to describe the building as a farmhouse rather than a villa. The enclosure reminded him of that found at Petersfield, Hants, and he looked upon the right-hand building as a barn rather than a house. The small square building between had thick walls and a coarse tessellated floor, the whole being of a type frequently found at Silchester. Such walls were not required for storing wood, and he suggested that the building was a *lararium*. The coins ranged practically all over the Roman period, the most interesting being early specimens of Claudius, mostly found outside the barn buildings: early specimens were also found in the V-shaped ditch. One British coin was found, and in a black pit a hoard of the Constantine period, which gave a date for the associated pottery. A first brass of Hadrian was in an unusually good state of preservation.

Rev. H. F. WESTLAKE suggested as an explanation of the gap in the coin-sequence that about 210, when Severus led his expedition to the North, such sites were deserted owing to the calling-up of all liable to military service.

Mr. COCKS, in replying, mentioned two saws of peculiar construction in connexion with the human bones, the smaller one measuring only 4 in. and resembling a comb. The animal bones were already worked out, but the bird remains would prove a more difficult task. A cow's horns had a circular cross-section, those of the older males were flattened; and most of the specimens found at the villa were so flattened, some having an isosceles triangle section: something more than a particular breed was thereby indicated. Humped cattle to the present day retained more or less flattened horns.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for this communication.

THURSDAY, 29th MARCH 1917.

Sir ARTHUR JOHN EVANS, Knt., D.Litt., F.R.S., President, in the Chair.

The following gifts were announced, and thanks for the same ordered to be returned to the donors:

From the Author:—The work of Theodore de Bry and his sons, engravers. By M. S. Giuseppi, F.S.A. 8vo. London, 1917.

From the Author:—Yorkshire potteries, pots and potters. By Oxley Grabham. 8vo. York, 1916.

Notice was given of the Anniversary Meeting to be held on Monday, 23rd April (St. George's Day), at 2 p.m., and lists were read of the Fellows proposed as President, Council, and Officers for the ensuing year.

A. FORBES SIEVEKING, Esq., F.S.A., read a paper on the History of the Stirrup, which will be printed in *Archaeologia*.

Mr. FFOULKES had been asked to mention a stirrup made for a duke of Milan on the occasion of his marriage, with spur attached, a very practical addition. He was anxious to defend Jacobi, who had been claimed by the Germans as identical with Jacob Topf, who was known to have been out of Germany for a few years and to have made sets for nobles of the period; but

Jacobi's work was quite different from Topf's, and there was no justification for identifying the two craftsmen. Dr. Bradley had communicated some details as to the origin of the word stirrup, and traced it back to 1175. In Sir G. Hayes's *Book of Knighthood*[1] there was an allusion to 'false-stirrup', which was probably a mace carried at the saddle-bow. Stirrup-makers had no separate gild, but formed a branch of the Saddlers. When Barbarossa refused to hold the Pope's stirrup, the latter refused the kiss of peace, and the Emperor had to submit to the only English pope, Nicholas Breakspear. The seventeenth-century phrase 'stirrup-verse', quoted in Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, probably got its meaning from the parallel stirrup-cup. Many tenures by stirrup in England were quoted. Stirrups in the Tower Armoury suffered, like the rest, from absence of provenance, and he was glad to think that the War Museum recently established by Cabinet Minute would be conducted with greater attention to such details. The Society was unofficially represented on the Committee by Sir Martin Conway and Professor Oman; and the collections to be made in illustration of military history would in time acquire an archaeological interest, especially as many medieval appliances had been revived with slight differences during the present war, such as cross-bows, spring-guns, catapults, and *ballistae*.

Major Farquharson said the great difficulty in England was dating the stirrup, as there was little opportunity of seeing specimens represented on monuments, and the churches contained no information on the subject. The early specimens were dated too early, and the pointed, triangular class appeared at the battle of Hastings. There could be no mistake as to the Tudor stirrup, and those for war and civil use in the sixteenth century could be distinguished. In the time of Henry VIII they attained a great size to accommodate the broad toe, but that fashion lasted only a short time. By the time of Charles I, the stirrup had lost the external semicircles of the Tudor period. The type with a square projection from the straight top (like a crenelation) had puzzled the authorities, but probably dated from the early sixteenth century, though its influence could be traced in the modern Life-guards' stirrup. Local equestrian statues, with the exception of Charles I at Charing Cross, gave no help: for instance, those of William III in St. James's Square and the First Gentleman in Europe in Trafalgar Square were without stirrups of any kind.

Sir Hercules Read had previously remarked on the author's boldness in dealing with so difficult a subject, the range of the

[1] Cambridge Text Society, 1914 (ed. J. B. Stevenson), p. 47.

stirrup both in space and time being largely conjectural; but the conspectus given was highly satisfactory. With regard to its origin, there was a remarkable monument in North China published by Chavannes,[1] showing six horses racing without riders, but fully caparisoned and carrying saddles with stirrups swinging: the obvious conclusion was that the stirrup was, about the seventh century A.D., no new thing in China. The Sassanian stirrup was not in common use, but a rarity, as Smirnoff's illustrations of contemporary dishes proved. One of the exhibits was said to be of a common Italian type: the best examples were in the Forman collection, and after purchase by Mr. George Salting went to the Victoria and Albert Museum. Their delicate and beautiful enamelling showed oriental influence; and as he had seen several specimens in Spain and others from Morocco he was inclined to regard it as the Morocco type, but it was also found farther east. The square splayed base and spreading ogee curve had their origin among the Moors; and the type survived in the wooden stirrup of Spain, whence it spread to the Pacific coast of America, especially to Chile. Some of the early specimens exhibited were not Gothic in any sense, but Viking, and the type was represented in museums. Meyrick in his day did much for the study of armour, but had been superseded by later works; and little confidence could be placed in another authority mentioned, Demmin.

Sir MARTIN CONWAY thought there must have been a long history behind the earliest stirrup known. The big-toe stirrup was found in Patagonia, and was common among peoples who rode with bare feet. The stirrup and saddle were historically connected, but the former was not so necessary when the horse was gripped with the knees as when the leg was bent forward, the so-called jockey seat. A cavalry officer had told him there were two schools of riding, respectively north and south of the Mediterranean. In the one case the legs were kept low and a snaffle-bit used, whereas the oriental horseman used a curb and high saddle, and did not grip with the knees. The Arab victories had been attributed to their mastery of the high saddle, which was the type adopted in Spain and the New World, and was the ordinary saddle of South America. The low saddle reached England and spread over North America, as far as the south of Texas.

The PRESIDENT favoured a Chinese origin for the stirrup, and thought it could be traced to the steppes. The Sassanian stirrup

[1] *Mission archéologique dans la Chine septentrionale* (Publications de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient), part 2 (1909), plate CCXC.

was rarely represented, but certainly existed at a definite period. In Sapor's time an emperor acted as a mounting-block, but the stirrup appeared in the sixth century, and the name evidently had reference to the older practice of mounting by means of a projection on the spear, the Latin word *scala* meaning a ladder. In England the stirrup was due to Viking influence, and could be traced to the old Sarmatian region, whence it travelled west by way of the Baltic.

Mr. SIEVEKING replied that, as he had anticipated, he had learnt more than he had contributed to the discussion of the stirrup, and would be glad to take advantage of the numerous suggestions made by Fellows.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for this communication.

THURSDAY, 19th APRIL 1917.

Sir CHARLES HERCULES READ, Knt., LL.D., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The following gifts were announced, and thanks for the same ordered to be returned to the donors:

From the Author :—Illustrations of the book-worm. By Sir William Osler. 4to. [Oxford], 1917.

From the Author :—Extracts from the letter-book of a Dover merchant, 1737-1741. By William Minet, F.S.A. 8vo. London, 1916.

From the Author :—The history of roods, screens, and lofts in the East Riding. By Aymer Vallance, F.S.A. 8vo. [Leeds, 1917.]

From Harold Sands, Esq., F.S.A. :—The Latins in the Levant, a history of Frankish Greece (1204-1566). By William Miller. 8vo. London, 1908.

In pursuance of the Statutes, Chapter I, Section V, the Right Honourable Lewis, Viscount Harcourt, D.C.L., was elected a Fellow of the Society.

Notice was again given of the Anniversary Meeting to be held on Monday, 23rd April, St. George's Day, at 2 p.m., and lists were read of the Fellows proposed as President, Council, and Officers for the ensuing year.

The Report of the Auditors of the Society's accounts for 1916 was read (see end of volume), and thanks were voted to the Auditors for their trouble and to the Treasurer for his good and faithful services.

L. A. Lawrence, Esq., F.S.A., exhibited a set of standard troy weights dated 1588, on which he read the following notes:

The weights which are the subject of this note are thirteen in number, cup-shaped, and arranged as a nest. The values are marked on the edges of all the larger weights and on the sides of the small ones where the edge was too thin for the purpose.

The largest weight is of the value of 256 oz. troy, and each smaller weight is half the value of the one into which it fits. We thus get a series of 256, 128, 64, 32, 16, 8, 4, 2, and 1 oz., also $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{8}$, $\frac{1}{16}$ oz. The outer surfaces of all the weights bear the initials E L under a crown, and those above the value of $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. bear the inscription

A N°	D O	1588
A°	REG	XXX

The larger weights down to the 8 oz. bear an ornamentation of roses and fleurs-de-lis, the 4 and 2 oz. weights are ornamented with roses only, and the 1 oz. weight with annulets only.

The marks of denomination are placed on the edge of each weight down to 2 oz., and all bear a more recent stamp, added in the time of George III, G.R. III, under a crown and the exchequer mark of this period. The small weights bear these two marks on the base and the three heaviest weights bear them in duplicate on the edge (fig. 1).

All the weights have been leaded, and doubtless these later marks found on them are those indicating a readjustment and verification in the reign of George III. Some former owner has scratched on the edges of many of the weights the values in the avoirdupois standard.

The nest of weights is contained in an outer wooden case, presumably mahogany, with a brass binding and handle. The box is said to be of the time of George III. The set was obtained from a firm of well-known old-established scale-makers in the city of London. They had been in the ownership of the firm beyond memory.

Although this set of weights on account of its fine manufacture and artistic appearance is of considerable interest, the history appertaining to their production is still more so.

Considerable information in this respect is given in a small Blue Book entitled the Seventh Annual Report of the Warden

of the Standards, Weights, and Measures Department of the Board of Trade for 1872-3, by the late H. W. Chisholm, then Warden of the Standards. From this paper I am able to give shortly the circumstances to which this set of weights owes its being.

In the year 1758, when a new series of standard weights and measures was contemplated, a House of Commons Committee drew up a report and embodied in this a copy of a Royal Roll dated 17th June 1588, in the 30th year of Queen Elizabeth, and addressed to the Barons of the Exchequer, recording the construction and verification of the series of standards of troy and avoirdupois weights which were deposited in 1588 at the Exchequer and which constituted the legal standard of weight of the kingdom up to the passing of the Act of 5 Geo. 4, c. 74, in 1824.

The roll goes on to refer to the year 1574, when, owing to many complaints having been made to her Majesty 'that the weights used throughout our realm were uncertain and varying, one from another, to the great slander of the same our realm, and decency of many, both buyers and sellers', this set of standards had been constructed and verified by a jury of nine merchants and twelve goldsmiths of the City of London by her Majesty's Command.

In these days of extreme accuracy of our weights and measures and of severe legislation against the misuse of any of them, it is of interest to note the subjects into which the jury of 1574 were to inquire. They are given in a Harleian manuscript in the British Museum. (Harl. 698, f. 104.)

1. Furst ye shall enquier howe manie several sortes of weights are nowe lawfullie in use in this realme by the lawes and ordinaunces thereof.

2. Item of what grounde thei doe consiste, and from whence they are compounded, and what names they are severally called.

3. Item yf ye finde moe sortes than one then wherein they differ and in what things they are severally to be used.

4. Item howe manie ounc is in a poundweight of every such severall sortes of weight and from whence these ounc are compounded.

5. Item wheather these weights nowe delivered to you by this courte be of the right Standard of England and by whatt names the same sorte of weight is called, of what several poiz y^{t} same severall weight to you now delivered in ther severall are of, and wherin are the defectes.

6. Item that oute of the said weights delivered (if ye finde them juste) and otherwise with all youre dilligence and understanding yowe doe to be sized certen severall standard of all sortes of weight lawfullie to be used at this daie of such severall prises as paterns thefore shal be delivered to youe for that purpose.

7. Item that cheifelie youe have regarde exactly to size so manie pennie-weights as shalbe prepared to you in that behalf and so many pound weights VII lb and VIII lb weights in the severall sorts as in that case shall be prepared unto you and y^{t} yowe cause to be engraved upon them severally the names of the sorte y^{t} they are of and the poz which they (by yowre sizing) shall hold.

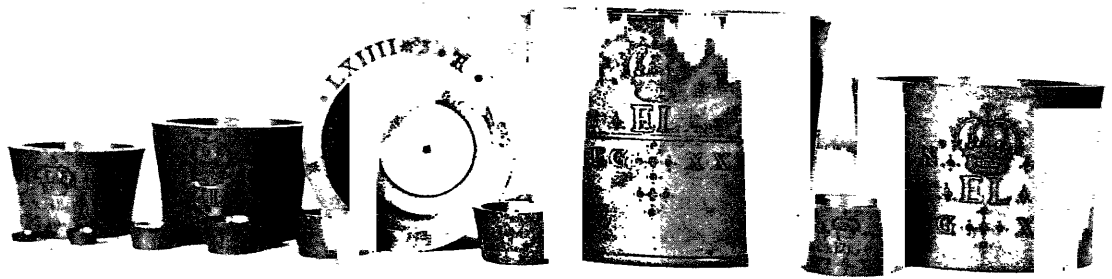


Fig. 1. SET OF TROY STANDARD WEIGHTS IN POSSESSION OF MR. LAWRENCE

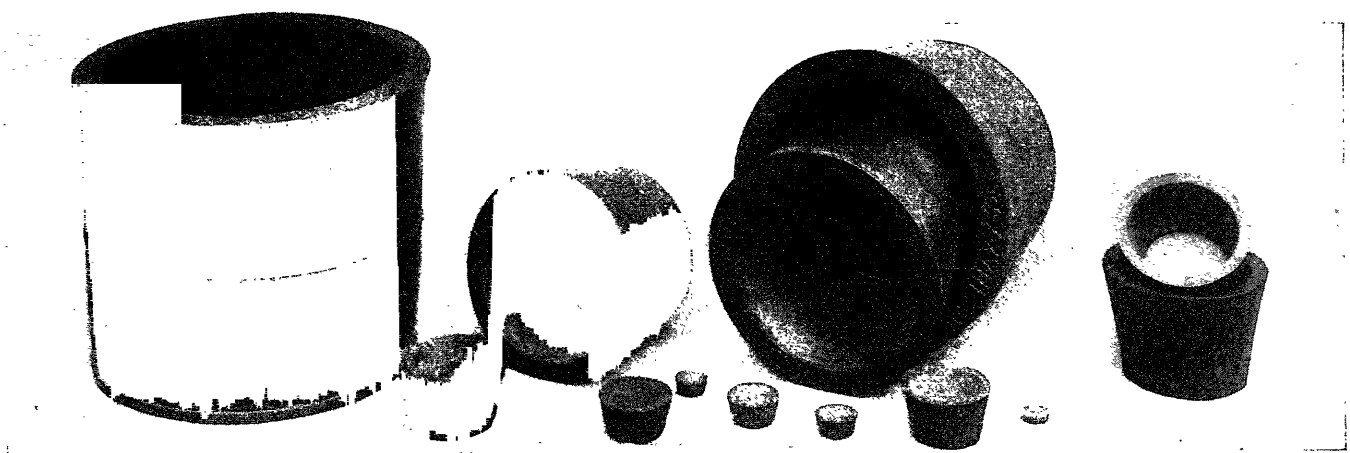


Fig. 2. SET OF TROY STANDARD WEIGHTS AT STANDARD OFFICE

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The answers to these various questions are given at great length and are highly technical. For these reasons, and also in view of the fact that the standards produced by this jury of 1574 were considered so unsatisfactory that they were to be ordered to be destroyed eight years after their construction, the answers are not quoted here.

The Royal Roll then recites letters of privy seal dated 4th November 1586 addressed to the Lord Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer, showing the appointment of another jury in 1582 who succeeded in producing accurate standards. Orders were given for the construction of sets of copies of standard weights to be used as local standards at the several cities and towns throughout the kingdom, which had previously been provided with standard weights under 11 Hen. 7.

Then follows a copy of the Royal Proclamation, dated 16th December 1587, legalizing the new standards and ordering the local authorities throughout the country to send proper persons to the Exchequer before the next midsummer, duly authorized by them, to receive the copies of the standards provided for them, paying a reasonable price to be fixed for them, and requiring all other standards and weights not agreeing with them to be broken and destroyed either by the owners or by the local inspecting officers.

The roll then recites an indenture dated 17th June 1588, made between the Queen's Remembrancer and the jury sworn in the Court of Exchequer to verify the Treasury copies of the standards for the several local districts.

It shows that fifty-seven complete sets of copies of the new troy and avoirdupois standard weights were constructed and declared to agree with the standards constructed in 1582. They were made like the Exchequer standards except that they were marked 1588, 30 Eliz.

The cost of construction of the fifty-eight sets, including the Exchequer standards, was £547. 17*s.* 2*d.* or at the rate of £3. 8*s.* 1*d.* for each troy set and £6. 0*s.* 10*d.* for each avoirdupois set. All these sets were delivered on the day of date of the indenture to the custody of the Usher of the Exchequer, to the end that the Exchequer standards might be kept in their accustomed place and the copies be duly distributed.

The Roll concludes with the record of the distribution of the fifty-seven sets of standards to the persons authorized to receive them on behalf of the several cities and towns, the charges for which were paid to the Usher of the Exchequer, who was answerable for them to the Queen.

The various localities which were ordered to procure the weights included all the counties of England and Wales, repre-

sented by the county towns, one set each, and the following: the Tower of London, Goldsmiths' Company, the Queen's Hospital, the towns of Marlborough, Boston, Colchester, Preston, Bristol, and Southampton, the Cinque Ports, represented by Dover Castle, and also another set for London. Middlesex is represented by Westminster.

Mr. Chisholm describes the troy set as containing thirteen weights of the same values as those before you, except that there were two of $\frac{1}{8}$ of an oz., one being solid, to complete the flat surface when the weights were nested, and also to make a complete number of ounces.

The set on the table contains one weight of $\frac{1}{16}$ oz., and I consider that one weight, a second $\frac{1}{16}$ oz. but solid, is missing from the set.

The avoirdupois weights were in two forms. First: a bell-shaped set of seven weights values 56, 28, 14, 7, 4, 2, and 1 lb., and a flat set of thirteen circular weights, values 8, 4, 2, and 1 lb., 8, 4, 2, and 1oz., 8, 4, and 2 drams and two of one dram. The whole series was engraved with the same design as is found on the troy weights where space allowed, and the correct value was placed on each weight.

I thought it might be of some interest to endeavour to trace any remains in the country of these fifty-eight sets of standard weights, and with this object in view I sent a short letter addressed to each of the present town clerks of the various cities and towns which were required by law to obtain standard weights in 1588. The results of this inquiry so far are:

Entire absence of any weights at thirty-three places. Five places uncertain. Eleven no answers.

Winchester has a complete set of troy weights, electrotypes of which are in the Science Museum (fig. 3).

The Weights and Measures Department, a complete set of both denominations (figs. 2 and 4).

The Mint, a complete set of troy weights down to $\frac{1}{8}$ oz.

Lancaster, a nest, eleven troy weights and others.

Northampton, four bell-shaped avoirdupois weights.

Salisbury, three ditto.

Exeter, the four large troy weights.

In the London Museum, five bell-shaped avoirdupois weights.

Carlisle, two avoirdupois weights 2 lb. and 1 lb. in private hands.

Norwich, the 256 oz. troy weight, which bears the stamp of a lion under a castle, the Norwich mark, placed on the edge.

The 128 oz. weight is in private ownership in the same city.

Several of the gentlemen who answered my inquiries were

To face page 144

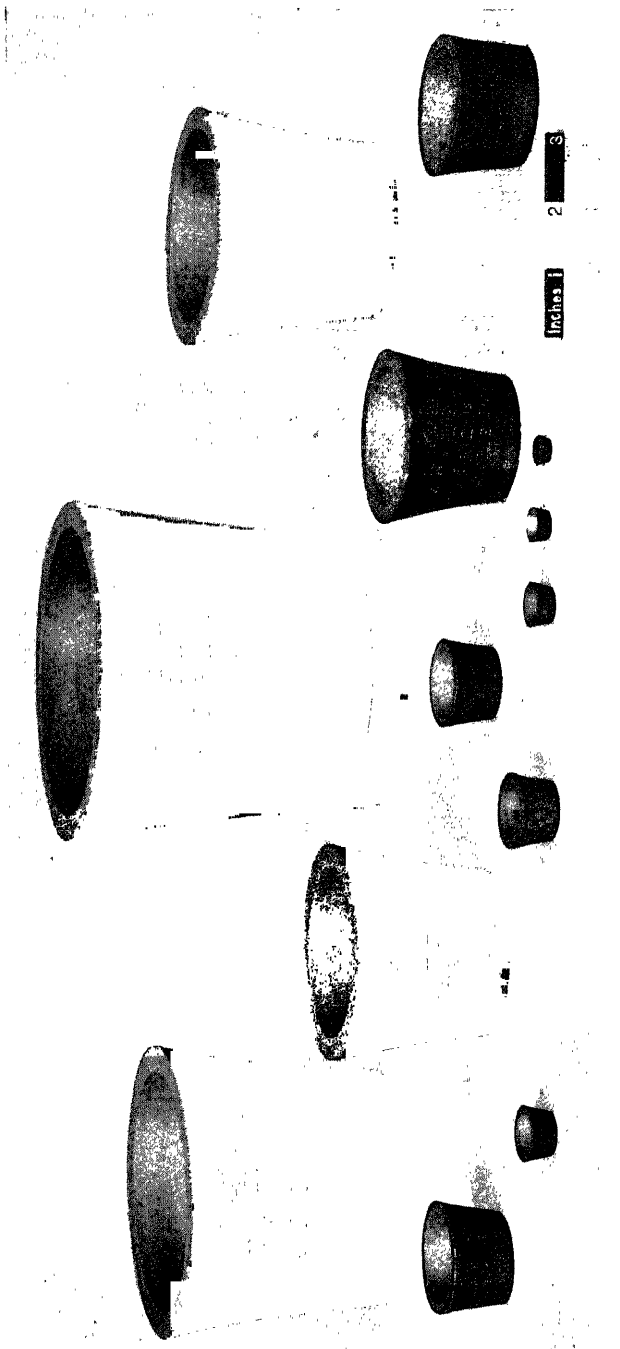


Fig. 3. SET OF STANDARD TROY WEIGHTS, WINCHESTER MUNIMENT ROOM

To face page 144

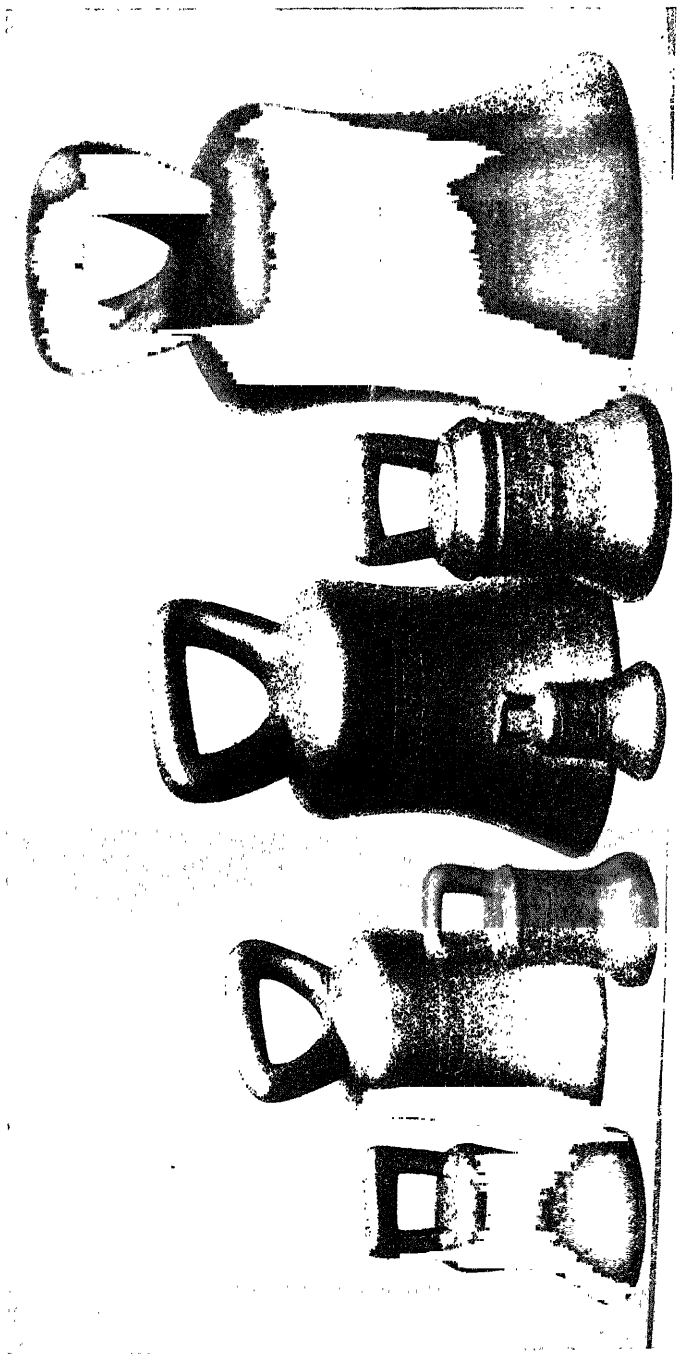


Fig. 4. SET OF AVOIRDUPOIS STANDARD WEIGHTS AT STANDARD OFFICE

good enough to give me particulars not only about the standard weights but also concerning standard measures belonging to their respective corporations or in their museums. Mr. Leney of Norwich referred me to the *Connoisseur* of 16th April 1916, wherein he describes and figures the large troy weight in the Museum at Norwich Castle.[1] He also added from the City Records the account for the purchase of the standard weights. It is of much interest and I transcribe it here.

Bill for the set of standard weights delivered to Norwich. Extract from the City Records under the Chamberlain's Accounts for 1587–8.

	li.	s.	d.
Payed to the Barons and other officers of the Xchequier for a Pyle of Brazen waits for this Citie appoynted by proclamation to bee had thear	ix	viij	xj
Item to Mr. Pearsse keeper of the Xchequier for his fee		ij	
Item to Mr. Fanshaw for his fee		iij	iiij
Item for thindentures to receyve them by			xij
Item to Alderman Martyns for a Pyle of gould waytes		iij	iiij
Item to the porters and watermen for going and stayeing to and at the Xchequier dyverse times for the same wayts to carry them to the water syde		ij	vj
Item to carrying them to Quenehithe to be carryed by a lane into Cheapsyde			vj
Item for hays, a hamper and lyne to pack with			xxij
Item to a Carre to carry them to the carts			iiij
Item to Fond for bryngyng them from London wayeng cc. wayghts		viij	

It may be of some interest to refer in detail to the ornamentation of the various sets of weights it has been my good fortune to inspect.

Perhaps that with the fullest decoration is the set before you, which bears inscriptions on the whole of the weights on the outer surface. The larger ones down to the 8 oz. weight are all decorated with roses and fleurs-de-lis, the smaller ones with roses down to the 2 oz. weight. The 1 oz. has only annulets. The fractional weights omit the dating and ornamentation. The whole of this set bear the marks of value as ordered.

The set in the Standard Office, thirteen in number, the smallest being $\frac{1}{8}$ oz. each and the terminal one solid, has the same general style of decoration, but the fleur-de-lis appears only on the largest weight, and decoration is entirely absent from the 1 oz., while the smaller weights have not even the value placed upon them (fig. 2).

The mint set, twelve in number, agrees with those first

[1] *Connoisseur*, April 16, 1916, p. 217.

described, as regards the four largest weights. The 16 oz. standard is roughly engraved with the date 1588 and small roses and fleurs-de-lis irregularly placed. Inside on the bottom there is stamped E L crowned and a representation of a tower. The 8 oz. to 2 oz. inclusive have no ornamentation, but the value is placed on the edge and the E L and tower appear stamped inside. The 1 oz. to $\frac{1}{8}$ oz., of which latter there is only one, bear no marks of any sort. Several of the weights in this set have been leaded, but no subsequent marks are stamped upon them. This set probably came from the Tower of London.

The set belonging to the Goldsmiths' Company, numbering twelve, agrees with the first set, except that none of the weights from 1 oz. to $\frac{1}{8}$ oz. is marked in any way. There is no terminal weight nor one of the value of $\frac{1}{16}$ oz.

The set at Winchester varies considerably from those hitherto described. The surface ornamented is much smaller and the lettering and ornaments are also smaller. The largest weight bears roses, fleurs-de-lis, and small crosses patonce. Roses and lis decorate the 128 oz. weight; crosses, as before, and lis, the 64-oz. weight; roses and lis that of the 32 oz. The 16 oz. has only fleurs-de-lis, and the 8 oz. to 2 oz. trefoils. The 1 oz. to $\frac{1}{8}$ oz., of which there are two, as in the Standard Office set, are uninscribed and undecorated. Thirteen weights form this set (fig. 3).

The Lancaster set consists of eleven weights, the smallest being $\frac{1}{4}$ oz. I have not at present full particulars. The largest weight is ornamented in much the same manner as the first set.

I am unable to give details of the ornamentation of the four weights at Exeter, or of a set which I understand is at Lostwithiel in Cornwall.

Reference may be made here to another set of weights which I saw at the Mint enclosed in a splendid brass or bronze case. This is a troy set of the same denominations as the standards, but inasmuch as the case itself constitutes the largest weight, the set cannot have been used for the purposes of standardization. The weights themselves are somewhat rough and are unengraved and undated.

The larger weights however bear three stamps: (1) a crowned thistle; (2) E L crowned; (3) a tower. The smaller weights have only the crowned thistle stamp. The case, 256 oz., is dated 1588 and is ornamented with lizards, and the handle is supported by two female busts.

A case of precisely similar make but uninscribed is in the Victoria and Albert Museum. The contents agree with the Mint set in being somewhat coarse. They are unengraved and unstamped, and they are also very inaccurate.

The series of troy weights was made from patterns of older

weights which were placed before the juries of 1574 and 1582. It is not therefore surprising to learn that all the denominations agree in this respect with their earlier predecessors. Mr. Chisholm gives a list of these, and they include two farthing

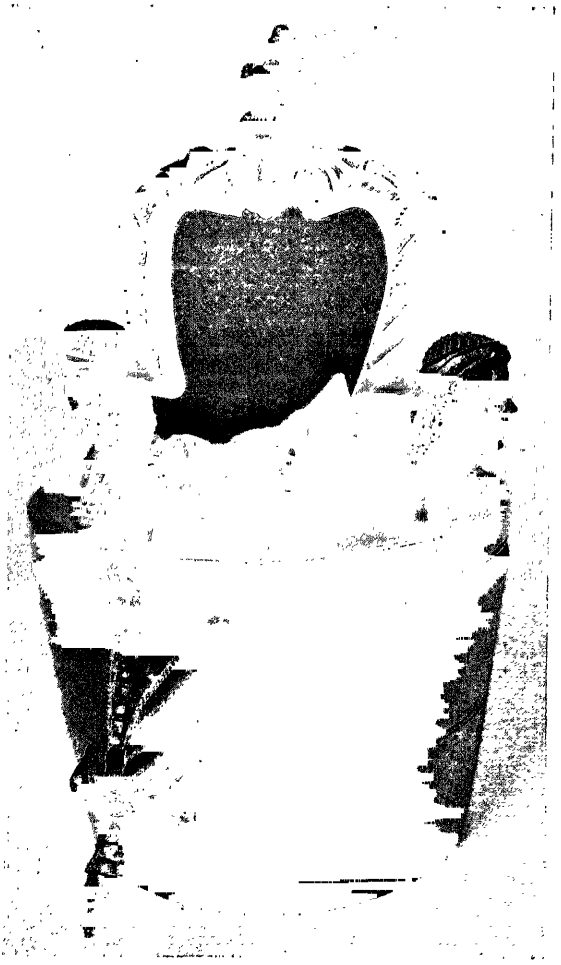


Fig. 5. WEIGHT-BOX IN VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM.

gold weights, one dim. $\frac{1}{4}$ oz., and one $\frac{1}{4}$ oz. The dim. $\frac{1}{4}$ oz. is the $\frac{1}{8}$ oz. weight, and the two farthing gold weights are $\frac{1}{16}$ oz. each. The curious nomenclature is taken from the weight of the quarter noble, or farthing of gold, which weighed 30 grains

or $\frac{1}{16}$ oz. troy. The noble of 120 grains was first struck by Edward III in 1351, and this denomination of weight was possibly first ordered in these early times. The farthing gold weight on the table is not represented in any of the sets here described nor have I heard of another.

In conclusion, I must gratefully acknowledge assistance given me by the Warden of the Standards, Major MacMahon, and his colleagues. The Mint authorities and those at the Goldsmiths' Company were equally kind, and so were the Director of the Science Museum and our Fellow, Mr. W. W. Watts, who presented the photograph of the case in the Victoria and Albert Museum. The town clerks who answered my letters were most courteous, and those of Chelmsford, Norwich, Salisbury, and Lancaster and others sent me important information, for which I return them my best thanks.

Mr. Watts asked for an opinion on the weight-box shown on the screen, which had been purchased in Paris in 1864 for the Victoria and Albert Museum on the authority of Sir Charles Robinson.

Sir Hercules Read thought that his own recent exhibit, if not Mr. Lawrence's set of weights, showed that the medieval system was extremely inaccurate; and it would be interesting to know why the jury referred to in the paper failed so lamentably. The present set was presumably nearer the standard, and reflected credit on the second body appointed to deal with the standards. He did not know on what authority the wooden case had been referred to the time of George III, but that was the opinion he came to on seeing it recently. Mr. Watts had raised a question of provenance in connexion with the Victoria and Albert Museum weight-box; and the two heads certainly belonged to an Italian school of the fifteenth century, though the dragons might be earlier. Such sets of weights were common abroad, having the same general features, but being about two centuries earlier than those exhibited; and the thirteenth-century shape of box continued, perhaps as a deliberate archaism, even down to the seventeenth century. Italy no doubt produced the prototype, and if the specimen shown on the screen was not an importation, it was clear that the English craftsman at that date was doing as good work as the Italian.

Mr. Lawrence replied that the Mint set of weights was stamped, and two of the stamps were common to the Mint set and the present exhibit, so there was good evidence that the containing-box at the Mint and the Victoria and Albert Museum specimen were English work, in spite of their foreign appearance.

W. H. QUARRELL, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., exhibited, by permission of the Grocers' Company, a cocoa-nut cup, upon which he read the following notes:

This cup, the property of the Grocers' Company, was purchased by the Company on 22nd November 1916, at Christie's auction sale. It was catalogued as follows:

'An Elizabethan cup, the bowl formed of a polished cocoa-nut, mounted with silver-gilt lip and straps engraved with bands of oak foliage and acorns, the initials C L M and the arms of the Grocers' Company, on silver-gilt stem formed as branches, and circular domed foot embossed and chased with masks in strap-work cartouches and groups of fruit on a matted ground, with egg and tongue border—8½ inches high.'

The cup was sold under the hammer as above mentioned for £189. It would appear to have belonged to Cuthbert Lynde or Lynd, who was elected Master of the Grocers' Company in July 1607. He died in June 1608; and an extract of his probate is below. The dish and ewer bequeathed by him to the Company were probably destroyed in the Fire, or were taken from the Company during the Civil War. The cup now exhibited was probably Lynde's private property, as his initials are engraved upon it eight times.

Cocoa-nut cups, or cups formed out of nuts of various kinds, and mounted in silver or silver-gilt, are not at all uncommon, and they are mentioned under various descriptions in wills and inventories dating as far back as the thirteenth century. They are found of varying merit and workmanship and finish, and they vary much in size and in style of mounting, the metal-work having been built up according to the taste of the craftsman and the money expended on the work. With respect to size, the Lynde specimen is fairly proportioned, though not on the side of elegance, being 8½ in. high and 4 in. in diameter across the mouth, and the workmanship of the silver is decidedly pleasing. It is unnecessary to give details of the cocoa-nut cups at the Victoria and Albert Museum, which are of various origins and differ considerably in merit, but I describe shortly those belonging to the Oxford and Cambridge Colleges, several of which are fine specimens of silver-work and historically of great interest.

At Oxford are cocoa-nut cups with silver-gilt mounts belonging to:

1. Exeter. A fine specimen of sixteenth-century work; 7⅝ in. high, 3 in. in diameter. This cup has no marks, but is the proud possessor of a fine cover, with which it is 10 in. high.

2. Oriel. A cup ascribed to the late fifteenth century; 8¾ in. by 3½ in.; no marks.

3. Queen's. A sixteenth-century cup, 7 in. by 3 9/16 in., resting on three lions; this cup appears to have been renovated about 1807.

4. New College. Three cups.

(*a*) A very unusual specimen of mounting; ascribed to the fifteenth century; $7\frac{7}{8}$ in. by $2\frac{1}{2}$ in.; the stem formed as a tree trunk, with a collar of Lombardic D's, and a remarkable palisaded foot.

(*b*) A cup ascribed to the fifteenth century; $8\frac{3}{4}$ in. by $3\frac{3}{16}$ in.

(*c*) A cup; 8 in. by 4 in.; the 'Katherine Bayley cup', with London hall-mark of 1584; maker's mark 'P'.

At Cambridge are the following cocoa-nut cups:

1. Corpus Christi. A cup ascribed to the fifteenth century; renovated as to the foot; no marks.

2. Gonville and Caius.

(*a*) A fifteenth-century cup; no marks; 8 in. by $3\frac{1}{4}$ in.

(*b*) A fifteenth-century cup; no marks; $9\frac{1}{4}$ in. by $3\frac{1}{2}$ in.; the base supported upon three sitting lions.

In the City of London are three well-known cocoa-nut cups: (1) the Ironmongers' Company cup of early sixteenth-century date; (2) the Armourers' Company cup; and (3) the Vintners' cup, with hall-mark of 1518. There are of course a large number of 'nut' cups in private collections: and I quote the above descriptions, not because of the rarity of this class of cup, but to summarize a few well-known specimens and to compare dimensions. I am indebted to Mr. E. A. Jones's *Plate of Cambridge Colleges*, to Mr. H. C. Moffatt's *Old Oxford Plate*, and of course to Cripps, for details. I may also refer to the two well-known ostrich-egg cups of the Universities: (1) the superb cup of Exeter College, Oxford, the 'Clere' cup of 1610, $20\frac{3}{4}$ in. high, with its cover, and (2) the cup belonging to Corpus College, Cambridge, 15 in. high with cover, with London mark of 1593. I also wish to acknowledge my debt to Mr. Edward Dent, a former Master of the Grocers' Company, who gave me the details as to Cuthbert Lynde and his connexion with the Grocers' Company. I am indebted to the Warden of New College for verification of some details. In the present times it is impossible to check statements as one would wish, so much plate being stored.

The extract of the probate of Cuthbert Lynd, for which I am indebted to Mr. R. Garraway Rice, F.S.A., is as follows:

Prerogative Court of Canterbury Register, 'Windebanck', fo. 66.
'T. Cuthberti Lynd.'

1st June 1608 6th James and of Scotland 41st. 'I Cuthbert Lynd Citizen and Grocer of London beinge sick of bodye . . . I bequeathe . . . And my bodye to be decentlye buryed according to the discretion of my Executor hereafter named. Item I will that all my landes tenementes rentes and hereditamentes whatsoever shall ymediatlie after my decease descend come and be unto Humfrey Lynd my eldest sonne and to his

Heires for ever Item I will and ordaine that he the said Humfrey Lynd shall yearlie content and paye unto my lovinge wife Margery Lynd duringe her naturall life foarth of the foresaid landes and tenementes "£200" payable quarterly . . . that is to saie Fiftie Poundes a quarter . . . in full recompence and satisfaction of all her thirdes and demandes touchinge anie of my landes goods and chattells whatsoever Item I give to my second sonne Edmond Lynd "£1500" to be payed to him as followeth viz.: "£800" at the end of his yeares of apprentishippe and "£700" at one full yeare after to be payde forth of my foresaid landes leases rentes and hereditamentes Item—I give unto the righte worshipfull companye of Grocers in London (Whereof I am a member) a bason and ewer percell gilte with my Armes on the same to be in remembrance of me and the value thereof I will shalbe to the some of Thirtie three poundes sixe shillinges and eighte pence Item—I make my aforesaid soone Humfrey Lynd my sole executor . . . And my mynde and desire is that my said sonne shall suffer my saide wife to enjoye such a reasonable parte of my houshould stuff and lynnen duringe her naturall life as shalbe fittinge and meete for her to have and then I will that the same shalbe redelyvered unto him. Witnesses . . . Robert Sandye, Richard Gouch, Thomas Morice and others.'

Proved at London 28th June 1608 by Humfrey Lynd natural and lawful son of said deceased and executor in aforesaid will named etc.

Sir Hercules Read expressed the pleasure given to the Society by an exhibit from one of the City companies. Fine pieces of plate were always interesting, but the present specimen was also somewhat of a puzzle. The lower part had all the characteristics of about 1580; but there seemed to him an essential difference between its fine quality and gilding on the one hand and the mount and banding of the nut on the other. The books of the Company might explain why the upper part was about twenty years later than the stem and foot. It might have been modernized to that extent when Lynde presented the cup at the later date. The proportions of the nut-bowl were distinctly good and the design quite in keeping with the rest; but one missed the cover which would have shown a piece of the shell and three or four bands. It was remarkable that any marks appeared on the bottom, as English marks at that date were generally round the edge, and were ruthlessly stamped. The date of the work seemed to justify its connexion with Lynde; but the presentation must have been made in some unusual manner to account for its omission from the records of the Company, and for its preservation when similar possessions were destroyed by fire.

The Rev. R. S. Myline said the cup resembled one in the possession of Oriel College, Oxford.

Mr. Watts mentioned a remarkable cup of the same kind shown at the Tudor Exhibition, bearing the arms of Elizabeth and Sir Francis Drake, and dated 1580.[1]

[1] *Exhibition of the Royal House of Tudor* (New Gallery, 1890), no. 832.

Mr. DENMAN questioned whether the cup was presented to the Company by Lynde. In some cases a past-master was presented with a cup on his retirement, and Lynde was more probably the recipient than the donor. The repetition of his initials would thus be explained.

F. C. EDEN, Esq., exhibited some pieces of stained glass from the Blue Anchor Inn, St. Albans, which he thought might have come originally from the Town Hall or Manor House. They included a large shield of the Royal Arms as borne by the Tudors, within a wreath with alternate red and white roses, surmounted by a crown supported by two amorini; a small circular panel of the same arms, surmounted by a crown: three quarries, two with strawberry plants in them: a red rose surmounted by a crown: a fragment of a circular panel with the remains of the Prince of Wales's feathers and the initial P: a fragment of a shield of arms possibly of Herbert, earl of Pembroke: two heads and some pieces from a border.

Mr. PAGE thought it most probable that the glass came from the Moot Hall which was dismantled about 1820, when the new Town Hall was built. He felt sure it was not from St. Michael's Manor House, of which the Gapes did not come into possession till after the Dissolution.

Mr. EDEN also exhibited a brass inscription from Ringmer Church, Sussex. It is a quadrilateral plate measuring 12 in. by 12¼ in. at the top and 10½ in. at the bottom, inscribed in capitals:

QVI CREDIT IN ME ETIAMSI MORTVVS / FVERIT, VIVET IOH. 11, 25 / IN PIAM MEMORIAM / HVMILIS DEI SERVI, ET ECCLESIÆ HVIVS PASTORIS FIDELIS / IOHANNIS SADLER. / CONIVX MARIA / P / OBIJT OCTOR: J°, / 1640.

The John Sadler who is here commemorated was inducted to the vicarage of Ringmer in 1626 and was buried there on 3rd October 1640. His daughter Anne, to whom he left twenty shillings in his will (P. C. C. Coventry, fo. 128), married John Harvard, the founder of Harvard College.[1]

The brass will shortly be restored to Ringmer church.

Mr. STEPHENSON held that the exhibit was a coffin-plate, and remarked that complete specimens of that size were rare.

Mr. GARRAWAY RICE had at first held the same view, but had come to think otherwise. He had rubbed most of the coffin-

[1] The Society is indebted to Mr. R. Garraway Rice, F.S.A., for this information; see Waters, *Genealogical Gleanings in England*, vol. i, part 2, 133.

plates removed years ago from St. John's, Clerkenwell, and had a trade-catalogue of about 1800 which gave many illustrations of such things.

E. C. R. ARMSTRONG, Esq., F.S.A., communicated the following report as a Local Secretary for Ireland.

It had been hoped that one of the historic sites of Ireland might have been excavated in the summer of 1916. The war and other causes prevented this. Some minor excavations were carried out. The first, which took place in March 1916, was the opening of a tumulus at Greenoge, Co. Meath, by a party including Mr. Charles M'Neill, Professor R. A. S. Macalister, and the present writer. The mound proved to have been previously disturbed, and nothing was discovered except what may have been the remains of the slabs that had formed the base of the cist. The Masonbrook Ring, Co. Galway, was excavated in the summer. This interesting stone circle has been figured and described in the Journal of the *Galway Archaeological and Historical Society*, vol. ix, pp. 71–3. No trace of a burial was discovered. At the same period that he excavated the Masonbrook Ring, Professor R. A. S. Macalister carried out two other excavations in Co. Galway. The first was an unsuccessful attempt to discover a Bronze-Age cemetery near Clochroke (Cloghroak) Castle, where a cist had been disinterred some years before. The second was at Grannagh between Adrahan and Loughrea, where a mound containing burials, in the excavator's opinion of La Tène date, was opened. Two beads of clear green glass and a bone pin were found. A discovery of interest is the finding by the same archaeologist of a runic inscription cut on a stone, built into the wall surrounding the burial-ground of Killaloe Cathedral. The inscription reads *Thurkrim risti krus thina*, 'Thorgrim erected this cross.' It is the third runic inscription that has been found in Ireland, another being on a bronze sword trapping found many years ago at Greenmount, Castlebellingham, Co. Louth, inscribed 'Domnal Sealshead owns this sword'; the third is cut on a stone which was discovered by Professor Carl Marstrander in the Blasket Islands, Co. Kerry.

Three large cinerary urns and a small knife-dagger were found with burnt human and animal remains in the spring of 1915 by James Nimmo, when removing a gravel bank to provide road material, in the townland of Creggan, Duneane, about half a mile from the banks of Lough Neagh, Co. Antrim.[1] The urns were found inverted a few feet apart resting on rude slabs covering the bones which were piled below them. The bones proved on examination to be those of animals (either horse or ox) as well

[1] See Bigger, *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, xxxiii, Sec. C, p. 1.

as of human beings. The urns and dagger are now in the collection of the Royal Irish Academy, National Museum, Dublin.

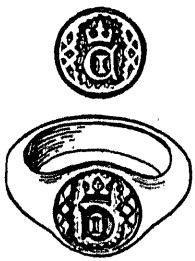


Fig. 1. GOLD FINGER-RING OF LATE MEDIEVAL DATE.

A gold finger-ring of late medieval date was found in the summer of 1916 when digging in a garden on the estate of E. J. Beaumont-Nesbitt, Esq., D.L., at Tubberdaly, Edenderry, King's Co. The ring has a circular bezel engraved with a small letter I contained in a large O, surrounded by ornamental work. It was acquired by the Royal Irish Academy as treasure trove.

A bronze seal-matrix with an illegible inscription cut by an illiterate person, which may have been intended for

+ SIGILLVM CONVENT FRATRVM PR(E)DICATOR

(without any place-name), was found in April on the seating of a window in the first floor of the east dormitory of Burrishoole Friary, Co. Mayo. The matrix is a pointed oval, its device being



Fig. 2. BRONZE SEAL-MATRIX FROM BURRISHOOLE FRIARY, CO. MAYO.

a figure bare-headed holding a cross-headed staff in his left hand and having his right raised in benediction. The matrix was presented to the Royal Irish Academy's Collection by the Commissioners of the Board of Public Works.

The Royal Irish Academy recently acquired a collection of antiquities which had been found principally in the north of Ireland. The collection contained twenty-eight bronze celts with localities, including eight flat celts, of which one came from

Leinster and the remainder from Co. Down; five celts with side flanges and stop-ridges (including two which are practically flat celts with very slight stop-ridges), of which two came from Co. Dublin and three from Co. Down; three palstaves, two from Co. Dublin, and one from Co. Down; two winged celts, one from Co. Dublin, and the other from Co. Down, and ten socketed celts, two from Co. Dublin and eight from Co. Down. A flat celt found at Kells, Co. Meath, and a celt with side-flanges and stop-ridge from Co. Mayo which were omitted from the former list may also be mentioned, making thirty celts with localities which can be added to those given by the writer in our *Proceedings*, xxvii. 253 and 273. The opportunity may be taken of stating that the estimated number of bronze celts in the National Museum, Dublin, which was computed at over fifteen hundred (*Proceedings*, xxvii. 253) was found on re-examination to be slightly in excess; the number at that date should have been given as under fifteen hundred.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for these communications and exhibitions.

ANNIVERSARY.

MONDAY, 23rd APRIL 1917.

St. George's Day.

WILLIAM MINET, Esq., M.A., Treasurer, and afterwards Sir ARTHUR JOHN EVANS, Knt., D.Litt., F.R.S., President, in the Chair.

Samuel Pepys Cockerell, Esq., and William Chapman Waller, Esq., were appointed Scrutators of the Ballot.

The PRESIDENT delivered the following Address:

GENTLEMEN,

Although the continuance of the Great War has stood in the way of such active researches as the excavation of ancient sites, the Society has been able to hold its usual meetings, to secure the regular issue of its publications, and to maintain its financial position.

Our losses during the last year have been somewhat severe, but the advanced age of several of our departed Fellows goes far to explain the circumstance.

The following Fellows have died since the last Anniversary:

Ordinary Fellows—

Edward Almack, F.R.G.S. 26th March 1917. (Elected 13th January 1898.)

Roanden Albert Henry Bickford-Smith, M.A. —— (Elected 9th January 1896.)

William John Birkbeck, M.A. 9th June 1916. (Elected 13th June 1895.)

Rev. William Kyle Westwood Chafy, D.D. 16th July 1916. (Elected 6th March 1902.)

William Vandeleur Crake. 21st March 1917. (Elected 5th June 1913.)

Very Rev. Arthur Perceval Purey Cust, Dean of York. 23rd December 1916. (Elected 4th March 1886.)

Charles Dawson. 10th August 1916. (Elected 13th June 1895.)

*John Ferguson, M.A., LL.D. 3rd November 1916. (Elected 9th January 1896.)

Henry Tennyson Folkard. —— (Elected 9th January 1896.)

Edwin Henty. 25th December 1916. (Elected 7th March 1895.)

Richard Howlett. 4th February 1917. (Elected 6th June 1889.)

Herbert Jones. 3rd October 1916. (Elected 2nd February 1893.)

Alfred Charles King. 20th April 1917. (Elected 2nd June 1864.)

*James Murray Mackinlay. 4th December 1916. (Elected 14th January 1897.)

Rev. William Dunn Macray, M.A., D.Litt. 5th December 1916. (Elected 27th May 1873.)

Percy Manning, M.A. 27th February 1917. (Elected 4th June 1896.)

Edward Philip Monckton, M.A. 17th April 1916. (Elected 3rd March 1910.)

*Ralph Nevill. January 1917. (Elected 4th June 1874.)

Rev. Canon Richard Trevor Owen, M.A. October 1916. (Elected 26th May 1887.)

Henry Joseph Pfungst. 25th March 1917. (Elected 28th January 1892.)

Lt.-Col. John Pilkington. 18th July 1916. (Elected 5th March 1896.)

*Edward Robert Robson. 19th January 1917. (Elected 6th March 1879.)

John Rogerson, Baron Rollo, M.A. 3rd October 1916. (Elected 20th June 1872.)

*Rev. Robert Meyricke Serjeantson, M.A. 16th November 1916. (Elected 10th January 1907.)

Richard Phené Spiers. 3rd October 1916. (Elected 2nd March 1882.)

John Sackville Swann. 24th May 1916. (Elected 30th March 1871.)

* Indicates a compounder.

Henry Taylor. 27th November 1916. (Elected 8th January 1903.)

Cecil Arthur Tennant, B.A. 9th August 1916. (Elected 4th March 1897.)

*Archdeacon David Richard Thomas, M.A. 11th October 1916. (Elected 13th January 1881.)

Honorary Fellow—

Sir Gaston Maspero, K.C.M.G. 30th June 1916.

The following have been elected:

George Buckston Browne.
Richard William Goulding.
Walter Henrichsen Guthrie.
Ian Campbell Hannah, M.A.
Rt. Hon. Lewis, Viscount Harcourt, D.C.L.
Henry Lennox Hopkinson, M.A., LL.B.
Percy Morley Horder.
Henry Harold Hughes.
Gavin Heynes Jack.
Thomas May.
Walter Peacock, C.V.O.
Rev. Arthur Frederick Sutton.
Andrew Thomas Taylor.
Col. Sir Richard Carnac Temple, Bt., C.B., C.I.E.
Laurence Arthur Turner.
Captain Annesley Tyndale Warre.
Rev. Herbert Francis Westlake, M.A.
Major Roland Moffatt Perowne Willoughby, LL.D.
Major Henry Harriott Woollright.

The following have resigned:

Thomas Butler Cato.
Reginald Balliol, Viscount Esher, G.C.B., G.C.V.O.
John Crawford Hodgson.
William Richard Lethaby.
Edward Rae.

Mr. Alfred Charles King, whose loss we have most recently to deplore, was born in 1830. He was elected a Fellow on 2nd June 1864, and had thus belonged to the Society for more than fifty years. In June 1865 he was appointed an Assistant Keeper in the Art Division of the South Kensington Museum, and afterwards Keeper of the Educational and Scientific Collections, now known as the Science Museum. He was the editor

* Indicates a compounder.

of many Catalogues, Reports, and other publications connected with the Museum. He retired in 1895.

He was a fairly regular attendant at our meetings for many years, but latterly failing health made it difficult for him to be out in the evenings, though he made it a practice to attend the Anniversary Meeting. He never took a very active part in our proceedings, although he made one or two exhibits. He served on the Council on several occasions, and was a member of the Library Committee at his death.

Among others whose loss I have to record to-day, Mr. Edward Almack, elected 13th January 1898, had made special researches on the subject of book-bindings.

Mr. William J. Birkbeck was an expert on Church music, and had a considerable acquaintance with the Russian and Old Slavonic branch. He had indeed an intimate acquaintance with the Russian land, people, and language, and had travelled extensively in the country. 'During the past twenty-seven years,' writes a resident in Russia, 'Birkbeck was a close student of Russian ecclesiastical and political affairs. Few Englishmen know this country, its people, and language so well, and none has endeared himself more deeply in Russian hearts. "Ivan Vasilievich," as he was affectionately known here, is entitled to a foremost place among the select band of Englishmen who prepared the way for the friendship now uniting Russia and Great Britain. His translations from Russian and Slavonic form an imperishable contribution to Church literature.'

The Reverend William Kyle Westwood Chafy, D.D., who died on 16th July 1916, was elected a Fellow in 1902. He made two communications to our *Proceedings*, exhibiting a carved Saxon stone from Rous Lench Church, Worcester,[1] and a desk cloth from Church Lench, Worcester.[2]

Mr. William Vandeleur Crake, who died on 21st March last at the age of 65, took a special interest in the history of the twin towns of Hastings and St. Leonards, in the latter of which he himself owned considerable property. He devoted much research to the part played by the representatives of the Cinque Ports at Royal Coronations. He was a Member of the Sussex Archaeological Society, and for many years acted as its local Secretary for the Hastings district. He made various contributions to its annual Collections,[3] including papers on 'the Correspondence of John Collier, five times Mayor of Hastings, and his

[1] *Proceedings*, xvii. 259. [2] Ibid. xix. 189.
[3] See xlv. 62; li. 14; liv. 113; lv. 275.

Connexion with the Pelham family', on 'the Chichester Grey Friars' Church, now the Guildhall', and on 'the porch at Cowdray, with some account of its builder', and also a notice of Maresfield Forge in 1608.

But, as his friend Mr. Cranage writes, 'He will be chiefly remembered locally as the man to whom above all others his native town is indebted for its interesting museum. In 1889 he took the initiative in forming the Hastings and St. Leonards Museum Association for the purpose of establishing a public museum and art gallery, and he remained its honorary secretary until his death. Through the Association's efforts the Corporation granted an upper room in the then newly acquired Brassey Institute at Hastings for the exhibition of the gifts which began to pour in. The accommodation soon proved inadequate, and in 1900 a move downstairs to the present quarters was brought about.'

Mr. Herbert Jones, who died last October at the age of 77, was specially interested in questions connected with the Roman occupation of Britain. He gave valuable assistance throughout at the Silchester excavations, and presented special reports on the animal remains found. He also took part in excavations at Carlisle, and directed the excavations made in Greenwich Park 1902–3, which resulted in the discovery of a Roman building.

To the late Mr. Edwin Henty, of Ferring Grange, near Worthing, Sussex, J.P., D.L., and High Sheriff for his county, Antiquarian Science is under special obligation for his willing and continuous co-operation with Sir Hercules Read in the exploration of the important South Saxon cemetery brought to light on his property. Some of the principal objects discovered were exhibited by him to the Society and are described by Sir Hercules Read in *Archaeologia* (liv, lv).

Mr. Ralph Nevill, elected a Fellow in 1874, served on the Council in 1901, and in 1883 communicated a paper on Roman remains found at Chiddingfold, Surrey.[1] He was an active member of the Surrey Archaeological Society, and for many years was Secretary of the Congress of Archaeological Societies, in which capacity he exhibited much energy in calling attention to cases of the destruction of ancient monuments in his district.

Mr. John Sackville Swann did not take any active part in the business of the Society, but contributed papers on discoveries of rock tombs at Malta[2] and on Roman remains at Holcombe Regis, Dorset.[3]

[1] *Proceedings*, ix. 308, 334. [2] *Archaeologia*, xl. 483. [3] Ibid. xlv. 462.

In the Dean of York, Dr. Arthur Perceval Purey Cust, the Society has lost a member of thirty years' standing. He was elected on 4th March 1886, and died on the 23rd of December last. Although he served on Council in 1888 his direct contributions to the Society were not great. In the year previous to his election he gave an account of an ivory coffer with gilt bronze mounts used to contain the common seal of the Dean and Chapter of York,[1] attributed to a Sicilian origin, of about 1300. His administrative work in connexion with the Chapter, and the numerous calls of his office, left him indeed little time for antiquarian studies not having a practical bearing on the cathedral itself. He made, however, a special study of its heraldry, of which he issued accounts in 1890 and subsequent years.

But his historical and antiquarian knowledge stood him in good stead in his services to the fabric of the minster itself at a time when such services were much needed. 'He maintained public interest in the fund for the reparation of the building, and over £20,000 passed through his hands for this purpose. From time to time he issued well-illustrated and ably-compiled papers reporting progress. The work of the restorer is always open to attack from outside specialists, and the Dean's decision, under Mr. Bodley's advice, to construct flying buttresses where it was believed they were intended to be suffered the usual fate, but the result has made for effectiveness and for stability.'

His genial hospitality was widely appreciated. 'Cust', wrote the late Archbishop Magee, 'is an excellent fellow, with good sense, good means, good temper, good manners, and good connexions.'

Archdeacon Thomas died at the ripe age of 84, having been born in 1833. He was educated at Ruthin School and at Jesus College, Oxford, and was ordained in 1857. In addition to his parochial duties he served, for eleven years, as Secretary of the Board of Education, and in 1880 and 1885 he was Proctor in Convocation. In 1881 he was made a Canon of St. Asaph, and in 1886 Archdeacon of Montgomery and Residentiary Canon. He was an active member of the Cambrian Archaeological Association, acting as Editor of its publications from 1875–80 and 1884–8, and had been Chairman of its General Committee. He was also an Honorary Fellow of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland and Chairman of the Powysland Club. He wrote a scholarly and complete *History of the Diocese of St. Asaph*, which went to a second edition in 1913, and was a constant contributor to *Archaeologia Cambrensis*. He did not take an active part in the work of our Society, although he was a fairly

[1] *Proceedings*, xi. 259.

constant reader in the library, and only made two contributions to our publications, exhibiting a powder-flask in 1886,[1] and sending a note on the seal of Criccieth.[2]

Like Archdeacon Thomas, Canon TREVOR OWEN, who died in October, at the age of 80, was educated at Ruthin School and Jesus College, Oxford. He was appointed a prebendary of St. Asaph in 1895, and was also Sacrist of the Cathedral, and Proctor in Convocation in 1892-5. He acted as Editor of *Archaeologia Cambrensis* from 1879-85, and was General Secretary of the Cambrian Archaeological Association from 1879-1914. He made no communications to our Society.

Mr. CHARLES DAWSON, F.G.S., elected 13th June 1895, and who died on 10th August 1916, had mainly devoted himself to geological studies, especially in relation to the Great Saurians of the Wealden formation. His interest in more recent antiquities was, however, illustrated by exhibitions of two Bronze-Age bracelets of an interesting local type, from the Downs near Brighton,[3] and a fine bronze rapier from County Derry.[4]

His chief title to fame, however, was the discovery of the famous Piltdown skull, round which so much controversy has raged. The discovery in the first instance was due to a fragment of skull being handed to him by one of a party of workmen digging gravel, but it was not till four years later, in 1912, that sufficient fragments were recovered as the result of a special excavation to enable the whole of the skull to be reconstructed.

Mr. Dawson was a solicitor, and had been for twenty-two years Clerk to the Uckfield bench of magistrates.

Mr. JOHN FERGUSON, Professor of Chemistry in the University of Glasgow, was a past President of the Glasgow Archaeological Society and a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. He was also a member of the Bibliographical Societies of London, Edinburgh, and Glasgow, and of the Royal Company of Archers (the King's bodyguard for Scotland). He wrote largely on chemical and bibliographical subjects, amongst other works being his *Bibliotheca Chemica*, published in 1906. He made several communications to our *Proceedings*, amongst others being a note on a copy of Albertus Magnus's *De secretis mulierum*,[5] on the bibliography of Polydore Vergil's *History of Inventions*,[6] and on the earliest editions of the *De Incertitudine et Vanitate* of Cornelius Agrippa.[7]

[1] *Proceedings*, xi. 82.
[2] Ibid. xviii. 69.
[3] Ibid. xviii. 409.
[4] Ibid. xx. 267.
[5] *Archaeologia*, xlix. 335.
[6] Ibid. li. 107.
[7] *Proceedings*, xii. 136.

Mr. PERCY MANNING, M.A., was elected a Fellow in 1896, and died on service in the Oxford and Bucks National Reserve on 27th February last, at the comparatively early age of 47. Endowed with keen antiquarian interests, he devoted himself specially to the ancient remains and popular traditions of Oxfordshire.

He was born at Leeds in 1870, and was educated at Clifton College and at New College, Oxford. From his undergraduate days onwards he occupied himself with the antiquities of the city and county of Oxford, and was an indefatigable collector of local relics. He had put together a collection of many interesting objects, including a large number of constables' staves from Oxfordshire villages, and a good selection representative of the Woodstock steel industry. He had also a very large series of books, drawings, and engravings illustrative of the county history. He was one of the founders of the Oxford University Brass Rubbing Society, started in May 1893, which became the Oxford Antiquarian Society in 1901. He also served the Oxford Architectural and Historical Society successively as Secretary and Vice-President, and did much for the Millenary Celebration as Chairman of the Exhibition Committee and by the illustrations of Old Oxford supplied from his own collection.

He had made a special study of Late Celtic pottery, and collected many materials on the subject which, unfortunately, he never lived to publish. Among his exhibitions to this Society was a Late Celtic dagger sheath of interesting type, found in the Thames near Oxford.[1]

He was an ardent investigator of the local folk-lore, and was instrumental in the revival of morris-dancing in some of the Oxfordshire districts. Among other contributions made by him to the *Folk-lore Journal* was an article on Oxfordshire Seasonal Festivals, and he had been appointed by the University Committee of Anthropology to direct students in folk-lore researches in the district.

When war broke out Mr. Manning engaged in drilling volunteers, and started a rifle club at Yarnton. But he was not content with this, and, though well over military age, he attached himself to the National Reserve of the Oxford and Bucks Light Infantry, where he became Quartermaster-Sergeant and worked until he succumbed to pneumonia after a week's illness.

Mr. EDWARD ROBERT ROBSON, F.R.I.B.A., who died on 19th January last, at the age of 82, was for six years architect in charge of Durham Cathedral.

[1] Illustrated in *Archaeologia*, liv, p. 497, and described by Sir Hercules Read.

Mr. Richard Phené Spiers (born 1838, died 3rd October 1916) was elected a Fellow of the Society in 1882. He served as auditor, and was elected a member of Council in 1905. Although he made no contributions to our publications, he was a frequent attendant at the meetings and a constant reader in the library, and showed his interest in the Society by authorizing his executors to present us with one of his water-colour sketches and several books.

It was as an architect, and more especially as a teacher of architecture, that Spiers was famous. He studied at the École des Beaux-Arts, Paris, and at the Royal Academy Schools, where he won both the Silver and Gold Medals and also the Travelling Studentship. He also won the Soane medallion and prize of the R.I.B.A., and spent the money touring in the East, where he made a study of Greek and Byzantine architecture. In this connexion it is interesting to note that he was one of the founders of the Byzantine Research Fund, which has been instrumental in publishing monographs on some of the early churches of the East. In 1870 he was appointed Master of the Royal Academy Architectural School, retiring in 1906. In 1905 he was presented with a testimonial by British, colonial, and foreign architects, and devoted the money to forming a national collection of drawings of ancient architecture to be deposited in the Victoria and Albert Museum. He was a F.R.I.B.A., served on its Council for fifteen years, and was Chairman of its Literature Committee and a constant contributor to its *Journal*.

To quote the words of Professor Lethaby[1]: 'His attainments as a draughtsman were already of a high order when he went on his scholarship tour and he brought back a fine collection of studies. Later he became a fully-qualified water-colour painter of architectural subjects, and regularly exhibited. He was one of the first to be interested in Japanese art, of which he was quite a connoisseur. At this time (1890–1900) I suppose he was the only man in England who took the whole world for his province, and he was always ready to discuss Greek origins, or Persian art, or the problems of vaulting. His historical knowledge of architectural monuments was not only very wide, but also, I think, remarkably sound and sure; he had the instinct for dating and placing. Then he had travelled widely, and knew foreign and American architects better than any other English architect, and was, indeed, in this respect a "national asset", for they liked, and could understand Spiers. Yet he was wonderfully modest and talked with less than no sign of the superior, overbearing manner. As to his helpfulness in advising

[1] *J. R. I. B. A.*, 3rd Ser., xxiii. 316.

generations of students where to go and where to find what they wanted, his patience is hardly to be believed.'

Among our prominent historical students we have lost Mr. Richard Howlett, formerly Assistant Secretary of the Civil Service Commission and an editor of the Rolls Series. He edited *Monumenta Franciscana* and the Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I.

In our late Fellow, the Rev. William Dunn Macray, who died at the advanced age of 91 years, has passed away one of the patriarchs of bibliographical and historical research.

Born in 1826 and educated at Magdalen College School, Oxford, he became an assistant in the Bodleian Library at the early age of 14, and for sixty-five years his scholarly gifts and indefatigable industry were at the service of that institution. What made his work there the more effective was its admirable method and the old-world courtesy of his bearing to those with whom he was brought into contact. In 1845, when only 19, he published his first work, a Manual of British historians down to 1600, succeeded five years later by the first of the many catalogues that bear his name, that of the Library of Bicton House. The New Catalogue of the Bodleian Library was under his superintendence from 1859 to 1871, when he was created special assistant to the Manuscript Department. The work by which he is most generally known to the world at large is his *Annals of the Bodleian Library*, published in 1868, and displaying such an inner knowledge of the subject as few or none beside himself have possessed.

He was also the author of valuable reports on State Papers in the Royal and University Libraries of Sweden and Denmark, of a long series of reports on manuscripts for the Royal Commission, and of a manuscript calendar, which occupied him some fourteen years, of the Muniments of Magdalen College. Among other of his works were volumes published for the Rolls Series, the *Chronicon Abbatiae de Evesham*, the *Chronicon Abbatiae Rameseiensis*, and charters of the city and diocese of Salisbury, and also several works of curious interest, published for the Roxburghe Club, among them the history of Grisild the Second, 'a narrative in verse of the Divorce of Katherine of Arragon'.

Macray was elected a Fellow of the Society in 1873, and served on Council in 1879 and 1883. His Oxford ties precluded his active participation in the work of the Society, though he made some communications and exhibitions, including a British urn found in the parish of Hardwick, Oxfordshire.[1] Over that

[1] *Proceedings*, vii. 100.

and the adjoining parish of Ducklington he was Rector for forty years and greatly endeared himself to his parishioners.

Although he was not an actual Fellow of the Society I shall be only expressing its universal feeling in offering a word of condolence to the Royal Irish Academy on the loss of their distinguished member, Mr. GEORGE COFFEY. His manifold activities on behalf of the Celtic antiquities of the sister island were crowned in 1897 by his appointment as Curator of Irish Antiquities in the National Museum. His scientific reorganization of the great collection there as first Keeper of that Department itself constitutes an archaeological landmark.

In the case again of Sir EDWARD TYLOR, though he was bound to us by no formal tie, it is impossible not to make some acknowledgement, however inadequate, of the great services rendered by him to Antiquarian Science. As in the case of Anthropology in its broader sense he may be said to have done more than any one of his generation to place the very foundations of our studies on a new basis, and to have shown that the existing ideas and customs of primitive peoples throw in many respects a clearer light on the ideas and development of civilized races than can be obtained from the most ancient records. Not even the passions of war, as was shown by an interesting episode, have succeeded in obscuring the high estimation in which his work is held by foreign scholars. On the announcement of his death at a meeting of the Vienna Academy, with which he stood in an honorary connexion, all present rose from their seats in silent homage.

By the death of Sir GASTON MASPERO the Society has lost one of the most eminent among its honorary members. He died suddenly on the 30th June of last year, while attending a meeting of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, of which he was Perpetual Secretary. His services to the cause of Egyptology were so great and his personal contributions to the Science so various and comprehensive, including grammar, history, archaeology and art, and mythology, that it is impossible on the present occasion to attempt any adequate survey of his work.

Although he was born in Paris in 1846, and had early acquired French nationality, he was himself the son of a political refugee from Milan. But he showed a true patriotic devotion to the country of his birth and adoption. In 1870 he joined the 'Mobiles' and took part in the last desperate sortie of the army of Paris. He was stricken down at last by the death of his

younger son in the attack of Vauquois, and though he rallied from the shock he never really recovered.

In 1881 he succeeded Mariette, the founder of the Museum of Boulaq and director of Excavations in Egypt, whence he returned in 1886 to his Chair at the Collège de France. But in 1899, owing to the special request of Lord Cromer, who fully realized his peculiar fitness for such a position, he returned to Cairo as head of the great Museum and of the Service of Antiquities in Egypt.

It is possible that the cosmopolitan qualities that so greatly aided him in his task were partly due to the circumstances of his origin and the diversity of his lineage from his later environment. His administration was free from any trace of national chauvinism, and he showed himself the disinterested friend of those—to whatever country they belonged—who were engaged in Egyptological researches. None indeed owe him a more lasting debt for his courteous support and his never-failing assistance than his English confrères.

I cannot help feeling that it is perhaps as well that the stringency of public affairs and the preoccupations of the hour should not have been favourable to a project for a bicentenary celebration of the Society in the present year. This is not from any under-estimate of the value of such celebrations in keeping alive the spirit of Societies, but from a strong conviction that by attaching public importance to the date 1717 as the starting-point of its activities the Society of Antiquaries would be understating its own legitimate claims to antiquity. That year, indeed, though associated with the reconstitution of the Society on a broader and more formal basis, can hardly be taken to mark the date of its birth.

In some interesting notes on 'Maurice Johnson, F.S.A., and the early meetings of the Society'[1] our Fellow, Mr. Laurence Weaver, has recalled the record existing among the miscellaneous papers of Wanley, among the Harleian MSS.[2], of what has the best claim to be regarded as the first stage in the continuous history of the Society in its present form. This was the meeting of Mr. Talman, Mr. Bagford, and Mr. Wanley at the Bear Tavern in the Strand, on Friday, 5th December 1707. It was there agreed to meet each Friday night in that tavern till they should order otherwise. On the succeeding Friday, 12th December, they met again, and it was agreed 'that the business of this Society—it will be observed they already regarded themselves as constituting a Society and not a mere social club of kindred spirits—shall be limited to the subject of

[1] *Proceedings*, xxviii. 135-40. [2] Harleian MS. 7055, ff. 1-6.

Antiquities and more particularly to such things as may illustrate and relate to the History of Great Britain'.

Antiquity itself was defined as 'such things only as shall precede the reign of James the First, King of England', and it was provided that the Society should be free to 'confer' upon any new discovery of 'antient coins, books, sepultures or other Remains of Antient Workmanship', which might be communicated to them. Till the Society should reach the number of ten, a fine of 6*d.* for non-attendance was imposed. The time of meeting was fixed at six p.m., and it was to be adjourned or broken off 'at ten of the clock at the furthest, and while we meet at a Tavern no one shall be obliged to pay for more than he shall call for'.

The Society subsequently moved to the 'Young Divel' Tavern in Fleet Street, and thence in 1708 to the Fountain Tavern in the same street.

To the original members of the Society were shortly added Peter le Neve, Norroy Herald, the first President; George Holmes, Keeper of the Tower Records; Maddox, the Historiographer Royal, author of the *History of the Exchequer* and other works; W. John Batteley, the author of *Antiquitates Rutupinae*; the Saxon scholar Elstob; Samuel Stebbing, the Somerset Herald, who re-edited Sandford's *Genealogical History of the Kings and Queens of England*; Maurice Johnson, the founder of the 'Gentlemen's Society' of Spalding, Honorary Librarian of the Society of Antiquaries; Roger and Samuel Gale; Anstis, who became Garter King of Arms and wrote on the history of the Orders of the Garter and the Bath; Rymer, the author of the *Foedera*; Dr. Stukeley; and others.[1]

A Society including the names of such persons already occupied a very strong position some years before the date of its reconstitution in 1717. From February 7 in that year the continuous record of the Society's minutes begins. But it must be regarded as purely the result of accident that a continuous record does not go back to 1707. There can be little doubt, as Mr. Laurence Weaver has suggested,[2] that the rough notes of early minutes from 5th December 1707 to 2nd February 1707–8, contained among the Wanley papers, were drafts of minutes entered in a book now lost, which covered the Proceedings from 1707–17. The minutes of 1717, which imply previous Acta, point to such continuity.

In the otherwise careful and learned account of the origins of the Society, given in the first volume of *Archaeologia*, a loosely

[1] For an account of these original members see *Archaeologia*, i, p. xxv, and cf. Harleian MS. 7055.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 137.

worded expression occurs, which might by itself be taken to mean that the Society as such had not existed before the year 1717. 'After these meetings', we are told, 'had continued about ten years as the number of gentlemen who composed them increased, it was resolved to form themselves into a Society to meet every Wednesday evening.' Doubtless in that year the Society was reorganized, but the Society of Antiquaries already existed, and had enrolled among its members the most distinguished scholars and investigators. Its minutes, under its new constitution, are only the continuation of the old. Its President, as he appears under the new rules, Peter le Neve, Norroy Herald, had already held that position, at least as Chairman, from the earliest days of the Society. Nay more, in 1710, one of its leading members, Maurice Johnson, had founded the new 'Society of Gentlemen' at Spalding 'as a cell to that of London'.[1]

It would really seem that the principal reason for looking about for a bicentenary celebration in 1917 was that no one seems to have thought of it in 1907. With as much reason we might defer the consideration of such a ceremony till 1951, since in 1751 the Charter of Incorporation was obtained from the King. His Gracious Majesty George II was pleased to declare himself our 'Founder and Patron' in the same year that he founded the Royal Society of Sciences at Göttingen. But the Society will probably prefer to go back for its foundation in its present form to the select meeting of choice antiquarian spirits in the Bear Tavern.

I say 'its foundation in its present form', because it is impossible to keep out of our reckoning the interesting fact that the antiquaries of England had already formed a Society in the days of Elizabeth, of which considerable records have been preserved.

The actual foundation of the original Society of Antiquaries was undoubtedly due to the initiative of Archbishop Parker—'that munificent patron of letters and learned men'[2]. The date of the first foundation, according to the Introduction to Spelman's *Discourse on Law Terms*, written in 1614, seems to have been in 1572, as appears from his statement that its foundation had taken place about forty-two years before that date.

'About forty-two years ago', he writes, 'divers gentlemen in London, studious of Antiquities, framed themselves into a College or Society of Antiquaries, appointing to meet every Friday weekly in the Term at a Place agreed of and for learning sake to confer upon some questions in that Faculty and to sup

[1] See *Reliquiae Galeanae*, p. 11.

[2] Interesting records with regard to this first foundation were publishe in the Introduction to *Archaeologia*, vol. i, published in 1770.

together. The place, after a Meeting or two, became certain at Darby House where the Herald's Office is kept and two questions were propounded at every Meeting to be handled at the next that followed; so that every Man had a sennights respite to advise upon them. That which seemed most material was by one of the Company (chosen for the purpose) to be entered in a Book; that so it might remain unto Posterity. The Society increased daily, many Persons of great Worth, as well noble as other Learned, joining themselves unto it.'

An early reference to the flourishing state of the Society is contained in a letter addressed in 1596 to Sir Thomas Heneage and accompanying a treatise on the origins of the Duchy of Lancaster, contained among the Ashmolean MSS.[1] 'I have knowen yee', says the writer, 'in maner from your Infancie to be a neere Antiquarian, the skill whereof at this daie is become very great so that of that Science is a verie great Societie sprung upp, the President & Patron of which Society is the moste honorable and Reverend pastor John [Whitgift], by the Grace of God now Arche Busshop of Canterburie, successor unto Mr. John Parker, doctor of divinitie, late his predecessor, who was the first founder of the said Society.'

For twenty years the meeting-place of the Society was at the house of Sir Robert Cotton, and the suggestion of our Fellow, Mr. C. L. Kingsford, that they met in the room later occupied by the Cotton Library is highly probable. The later meetings of the Society were held at the apartments of Sir William Dethicke, Garter King of Arms in the Herald's Office. The members met at irregular intervals during the Law Terms for the consideration of subjects previously proposed. Three or four or more members were on each occasion deputed to draw up such memoirs or short dissertations on the subject arranged for the next meeting, when they were read and formed the subject of discussion. A collection of these discourses, some of which contain interesting matter, is to be found among the Cotton MSS. Many of these were thought of such lasting value that a selection of them was published by Hearne in 1720 in a work entitled *A Collection of Curious Discourses written by eminent Antiquaries upon several heads in our English Antiquities*.[2]

There is indeed evidence of a regular system of investigation having been drawn up which was to extend methodically over a period of years. The subjects as represented by the dissertations existing among the Cotton papers and those published by Hearne make this clear. Thus we have a series of Memoirs

[1] MS. Ashmole 1157, p. 87.

[2] These were compiled from MS. formerly in the possession of Dr. Smith, the author of *Vita Cottoni*.

connected with the origin of various titles, separately treated, beginning with Dukes, Marquises, Earls, and so forth; others on various jurisdictions and administrative divisions, such as the 'Originall erection of jurisdiction of Countye Palatines of England, Cities, Buroughs, Honors, Manors, and Parishes consecutively discussed'; a group of heraldic and allied subjects, the 'Origin of Coating', 'the Motto or Words on the Arms of Noblemen and Gentlemen'; others relating to law and privilege, 'the privileges of Kings', the dignity and privileges of Sergeants at Law, the antiquity and privilege of Sanctuary, Tenants in Chief, and the antiquity and diversity of tenures.

Among other subjects about which dissertations are preserved are 'the antiquity and privileges of Castles in England', 'the Use and ceremony of lawfull Combats', on 'The variety and Etimologie of measuring land in England', one memoir being devoted to the land measures of Cornwall; on 'funeralls in England', 'Tombes and Monuments', 'Epitaphs'; on the 'Antiquitie and Exposition' of the word 'Sterling', and on the Antiquity of Seals.

Among the latest discourses of this kind traceable are three, 'Of the diversitie of names of this Island', by Camden, Oldworth and Agarde, dated 1604.[1] It may be of interest to recall the fact that there have been preserved among the Ashmolean MSS. copies of two original summonses to attend the meetings of the old Society at the house of Sir W. Dethicke, Garter King of Arms. One of these summonses, of which facsimiles are here given, was addressed to Mr. Stowe (figs. 1 and 2):

To Mr. Stowe.

The place appointed for a Conference upõ the question followinge ys at Mr. Garter's house one Friday the ii of this Novembr being Alsoules day at ii of the clocke in thafternoone where yor oppinion in wrytinge or otherwyse is expected.

The question is

Of the Antiquitie, Etimologie and priviledge of pishes in Englande,

Yt ys desyred that you give not notice hereof to any But suche as have the like somons.

In another summons 'to Mr. Garter's house upon All Soules day beinge Thursday the Secound of November 1598 at one of the clocke in the after noone', the subject was 'Of the Antiquitie of Armes in England'. This is coupled with a similar proviso beginning 'Yt is desired that you bringe none other with you nor give anie notice to anie But to such as have the like somons'.

It will be seen from the notice attached to these summonses that the Society was very jealous of the privacy of its discussions. They were held 'as in a gathering of friends' and the members

[1] These are included in Hearne's selections (*op. cit.*, pp. 149 seqq.).

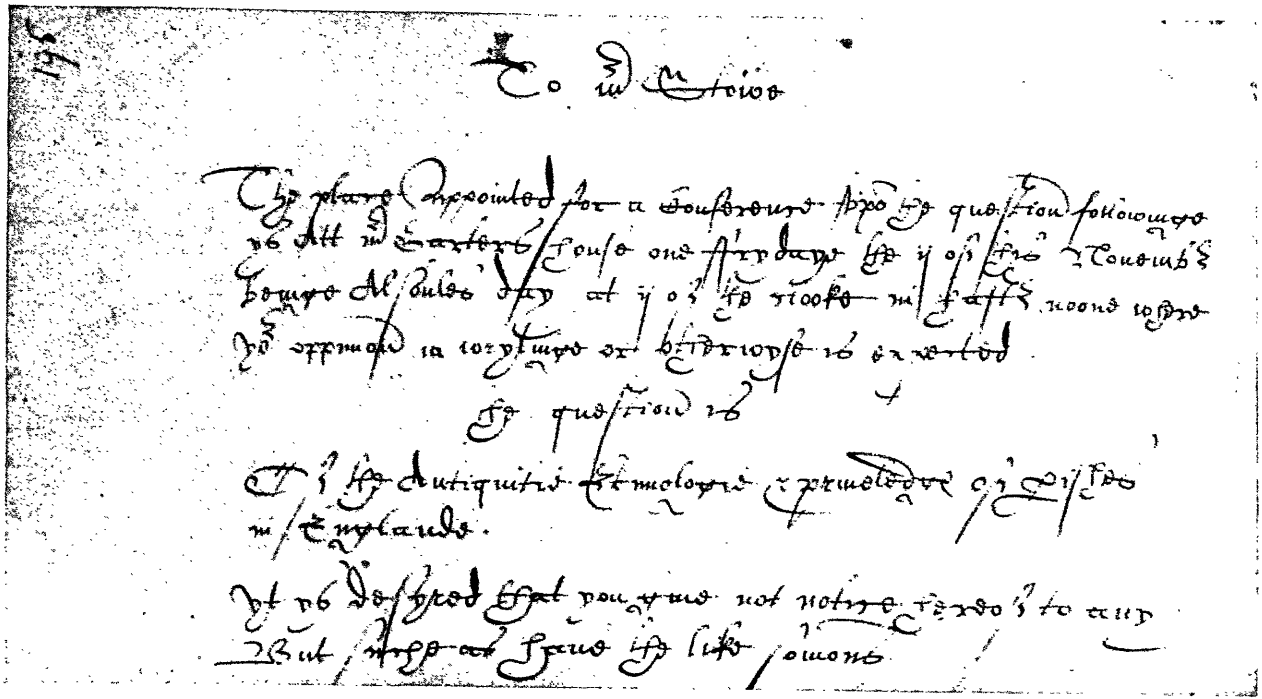


Fig. 1. FACSIMILE OF SUMMONS TO A MEETING

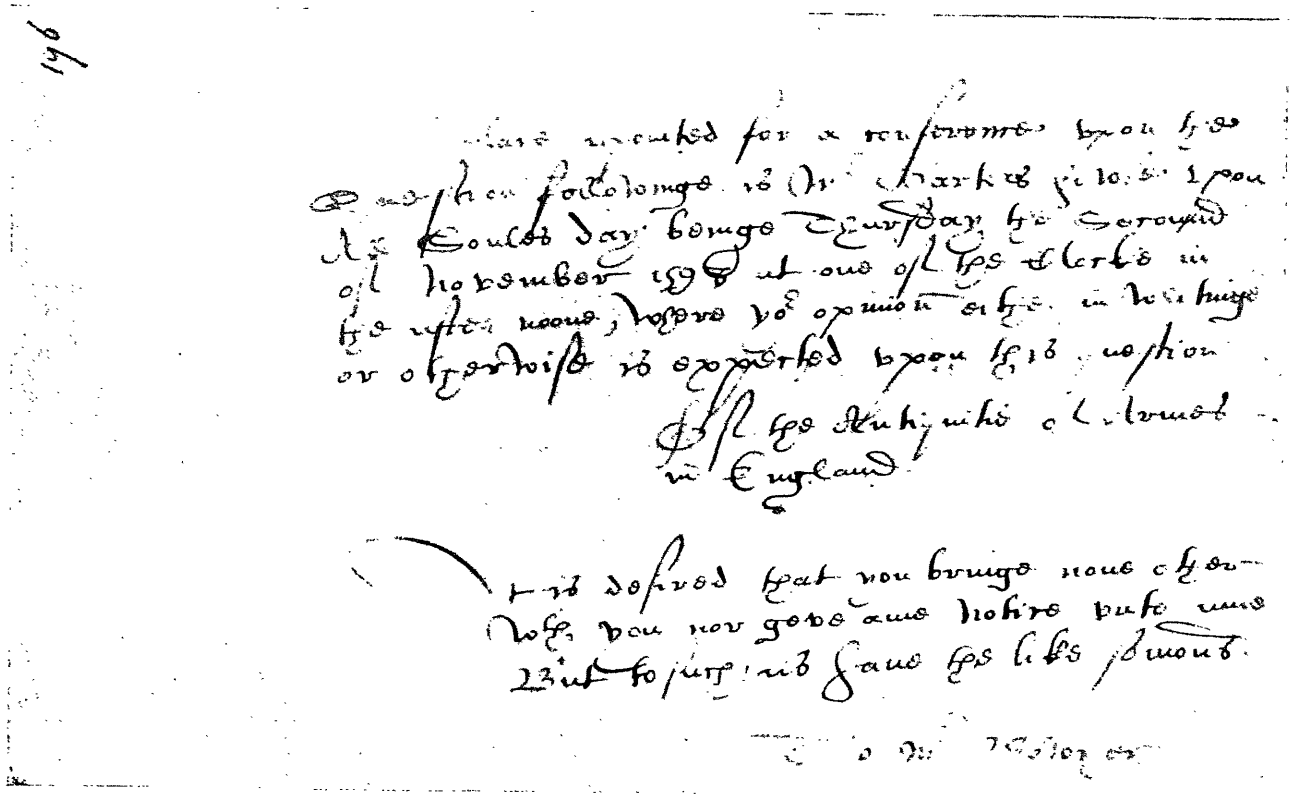


Fig. 2. FACSIMILE OF SUMMONS TO A MEETING

Between pages 170 and 171

supped together. In a list of members of the Society of the year 1590 contained in the Stowe MSS. twenty-nine names appear with 'mort.' added after four. In a note[1] dated the XLI[st] year of Elizabeth (1599) seventeen names appear as those of persons actually summoned to the meeting, and three others are mentioned as not having been summoned.

Of special interest—though the sequel is involved in a good deal of obscurity—was the resolution of the members in 1589, to apply to Queen Elizabeth for a Charter of Incorporation and for a public building in which to assemble and to have a library to be called 'The Library of Queen Elizabeth'. The design in view, as shown by the heads of the petition preserved among the Cotton MSS., is very remarkable, as it aimed at something more comprehensive than the original Society. The objects indeed included an English Academy of the historical Sciences and a National Library.

The aims of this foundation and the motives urged in support of it are of such interest and form indeed such a landmark in the history of the spirit of research as well as of educational ideals in this country, that I have thought well to present the whole petition as transcribed from the manuscript in the Cotton Library.[2]

A proiect touching a petition to be exhibited vnto her Ma[ty] for the erecting of her Library & an Academy.

1. The Scope of this Petition.

1. The Scope of this petition is to preserve divers old bookes concerning matter of history of this Realme, originall charters and monumentes, in a Library to be erected in some convenient place of the Hospitall of the Savoy, St. Johnes or else whear.

---

[1] The names of those which are somoned are this tyme

Imprimis	Mr. Garter	Item	Mr. Thynne
Item	Mr. Doderidge	Item	Mr. Doc. Doyley
Item	Mr. Tate	Item	Mr. Carew
Item	Mr. Cotton	Item	Mr. Bowyer
Item	Mr. Agard	Item	Mr. Hennage
Item	Mr. Paton	Item	Mr. Leigh
Item	Mr. Holland	Item	Mr. James Ley
Item	Mr. Stowe		

and I left a sumons with Mr.* Carentius (Clarentius, Herald) for Mr. Erswicke.

Not sumoned
Mr. Spilman and
Mr. Broughton
nor Mr. Lake.

* Per me Ch. Lailand.

[2] Cotton MS., Faustina E. V., pp. 89-90. Extracts only from this appeared in the Introduction to the first volume of *Archaeologia*, pp. iii, iv. A modernized version of this petition was published by Hearne (*Collection of Curious Discourses*, &c., ed. 2, 1775, vol. ii, pp. 324–6).

2. Secondly for the better information of all noblemen & gentlemen studiouse of antiquitye whearby they may be enabled to do unto her Maty & the Realme sutche service as shall be requisite for their place.

3. This Library to be intituled of Queen Elizabethe, and the same will be well furnished wt divers ancient bookes & monumentes of Antiquity rare & wyche otherwise may perishe and that at the costes & charges of divers gentlemen wch will be willinge theirvnto.

2. That yt may please the Queenes Maty to encorporate the persons so studious of antiquity for the better preservation of the said Library and encrease of knowledge in that behalf.

The name of this Corporation to be *The Accademye for the studye of Antiquity and Historye founded by Queene Elizabethe*, or otherwise as yt shall please her Maty.

The persons & officers of which this Corporation shall consist.

1. A Governor or President. Two gardeyns of the library yeirly to be chosen & the Fellowes of the same Accademye out of wch Fellowes the Governor or president & Gardens are yeirly to be elected.

Their ar divers gentlemen studious of this knowledge & wch have of a long tyme assembled and exercised themselves theirin of wch company & others that are desirous the body of the said Corporation may be drawne.

That yt would please the Queenes Maty to graunt the custody and to comitt the cure of that Library to the said corporation according to such ordynaunces and Statutes as yt shall please the Queenes Matye to establishe.

That none shall be admitted into this Corporation or Socyety except he take the othe of the Supremacy & to preserve the said library to the best of their endevour.

That yt may please her Maty to bestowe out of her gratiouse Liberality sutche & so many of her bookes concerning history & antiquity as yt shall please her highnes to graunt for the better furnishing of this library.

The place wch yt may please her Maty to appoynt for this library & the meeting of the said Society.

The place may be eyther some convenient Room in the Savoy wch may well be spared.

Or ells in the late dissolved monastery of St Johns of Jerusalem, or otherwise whear yt shall please her Maty.

That their might be ordeyned in the said Letters Pattentes of corporation certayn honorable persons to be visitors to visit the said Society from fyve yeir to fyve yeir or as often as yt shall please her Maty to appoynt.

The names of the visitors.

The Archbyshopp of Canterbury
being of the pryvy counsell
The Lord keeper of the Great seale
The Lord Treasurer
The Lord Admyrall
The Lord Chamberleyn
The prynciple Secretary
The Lord Chief Justice of England.

f. 90. Reasons to move the furdrance of this Corporation.

1. First their ar divers & sundry monumentes worthe observation whearof the originall is extant in the hands of some privat gentleman & &

allso divers others excellent monumentes whearof their is no record now extant wch by theise meanes shall have publick & salf custody for use when occasion shall serve.

The care wch her Matys progenitors have had for the preservation of sutche ancient monumentes.

Kynge Edward the first caused and comitted dyvers copyes of the Recordes and monumentes concerning the Realme of Scotland, vnto divers Abbeyes for the better preservation thereof wch for the most part are now perished or rare to be had & wch provision by the dissolution of monasteries is destroyed.

The same caused the libraryes of all monasteryes and other places of the Realme to be serched for the furder and manifest declaration of his titell as chief Lord of Scottland and the record theirof now extant doth alleidge divers Legers bookes of Abbeyes for confirmation thereof, the liek was doon in the tyme of King Henry the eight.

Also when the Popes auctority was abolished out of England by Kyng Henry the eight their was speciall care had of the searche of Antient bookes & Antiquityes for manifestation vnto the world of those vsurpations of the pope.

Also their ar divers treatises published by Auctoryty for the satisfaction of the world in divers matters publick wch after they are by publick auctoryty prynted and dispersed they do after some tyme become very rare for yt their is no publick preservation of them and the liek is of proclemations.

This Society will not be hurtfull to eyther of the Vniversities for yt shall not medle wth the Artes, Philosophy, or other fynall studyes their professed: for this Society tendeth to the preservation of hystory & Antiquity of wch the Universityes being busye in the Artes take litell care or regard.

In forreign covntryes whear most civility & learning is their is great regard had of the cherising & encrease of this kind of learning by publick lectures appoynted for that purpose & their ar erected publick libraryes and accademyes in Germany Italy and France to that end.

To this corporation may be added the study of forreyn moderne Tonges of the nations our neighbors Countryes and regard of their historyes and state whear by this Realm in a short tyme may be furnished with sundry gentlemen enabled to do hir Maty & the realm service as agentes or otherwise to be ymployed.

Mr. Cotton
Mr. Dodorig (Doderidge)
Mr. James Lee.[1]

With modern languages, history and economics included, together with the foreshadowing of a lecture system, the Scheme in truth went far towards the creation of a 'Modern University'. It is perhaps not surprising that the two old Universities seem to have taken umbrage at the projects. They were here, it is true, left severely on one side as 'long busye in the Arts', and taking 'no regard of history and antiquities'. But what seems specially to have moved them was the hint in Clause 2 that noblemen and gentlemen might obtain by this means an education more suited to a career in the public service.

It is clear that some obstructive forces were at work, and

[1] These three names are written in one hand, but in a different hand from that of the rest of the MS.

although Cotton used all his influence at Court to procure the charter of the new Corporation no practical results followed, and these efforts received a final check in the death of Elizabeth. 'As fair as the Hopes of this famous College appeared in its Bloom they were soon blighted by the death of that ever memorable Princess.'

In spite of this rebuff, however, the Society continued to flourish. In 1600 Camden offered to refer his controversy with Brook to the *Collegium Antiquariorum qui statis temporibus conveniunt et de rebus Antiquariis conferunt.* 'The Society', we are told, 'did not cease from its frequent discussions as before, and many aspired to obtain admission to a body containing members of such eminence.'[1] A letter of Dean Lancelot Andrewes exists showing that he was elected in 1604. Smith in his Life of Sir Robert Cotton adds that, although documentary evidence is wanting, it is certain that William Lisle, Henry Spelman, and John Selden must be included among the members elected after that year.

But influences adverse to the Society were evidently at work about this period.

Spelman in the Introduction to his *Discourse on Law Terms*, quoted above, speaks of the meetings of the Society having been discontinued for twenty years, owing to the death of many of its chief supporters or their withdrawing themselves from London into the country. As there were certainly elections as late as 1604, this statement is clearly an exaggeration, but it is evident that the Society was for some years after that date in a state of great inanition.

'It then', according to Spelman, 'came again into the mind of divers principal Gentlemen to revive it, and for that purpose upon the — day of — in the year 1614, there met at the same place (that is the Herald's College) various people of eminence, among whom', he adds, 'the Lord Treasurer (Sir James Ley), Sir Robert Cotton, Mr. Camden and myself had been of the original Foundation.'

> We held it sufficient for that time to revive the Meeting and only conceived some rules of Government and limitation to be observed among us; whereof this was one, that for avoiding offence we should neither meddle with matters of State, nor of Religion. And agreeing of two Questions for the next Meeting we chose Mr. Hackwell to be our Register and the Convocator of our Assemblies for the present; and supping together, so departed.

One of the questions related to 'the Origin of the Law Terms', and gave occasion to a memoir by Spelman himself of which the printed treatise is an amplification.

[1] T. Smith, *Vita Cottoni*, p. viii.

But before our next Meeting we had notice that his Majesty took a little mislike of our Society, not being informed that we had resolved to decline all matters of State. Yet hereupon we forebore to meet again, and so all our Labours lost.

The tradition preserved by Hearne[1] supplies a commentary on Spelman's statement. According to Hearne, 'it being suggested that the said Society (commonly known by the name of the Society of Antiquaries) would be prejudicial to certain great and learned Bodies, for that reason the Members thought fit to break it off. Nor was there wanting very powerfull men that proved enemies to them, and among other things they were pleased to alledge that some of the Society were persons not only disaffected to but really of a quite different perswasion from the Church of England.'

When the Elizabethan project for the formation of a kind of English Academy was revived in a new and Jacobean guise in 1617, it seems to have been thought a necessary condition precedent that the Society of Antiquaries should put a voluntary end to its existence[2] at least in a formal shape. In the draft copies of an abortive petition on behalf of this new foundation entitled 'A motion for erecting an "Academ Roial or Colledge of Honor" of King James', the cessation of the former Society of Antiquaries is brought into relief, as if with the deliberate object of dissociating the new movement from any connexion with a body which, according to some, actually stood in danger of prosecution 'as a Cabal against the Government'.

The proposed 'Academ Roial of King James'[3] was designed to go even more beyond the limits of Antiquarian and Historical research proper than the abortive scheme of Elizabeth's time, though its chief promoter was the antiquary and historian Edmond Bolton. His first petition on the subject was addressed to his patron Buckingham in 1617, and in 1619 it was forwarded in much the same form to James I, who interested himself in the matter. The membership of the Academy was to consist of three classes: (1) *Titularies:* The Lord Chancellor and the Chancellors of the two Universities; (2) *Auxiliaries:* Selected lords, 'some from the New Plantations, and (3) the effective members or "essentials" or "persons called out of the most famous lay-gentlemen of England" provided they were without any title of

[1] *Collection of Curious Discourses written by eminent Antiquaries*, pp. xxxv seqq.

[2] Smith, *Vita Cottoni*, p. viii, uses the expression: 'finis societati ipsis sociis sponte cedentibus tandem impositus est.'

[3] See 'Account of the Scheme for erecting a Royal Academy in England in the reign of King James I', by the Rev. Joseph Hunter, F.S.A. (*Archaeologia*, xxxii, pp. 132 seqq.), and 'The Academ Roial of King James I', by Ethel M. Portal (*Proc. Brit. Acad.*, vol. vii).

profession or art of life for lucre'. Bolton reminds the King of the old Society of Antiquaries, which he says consisted of a President, Clarissimi, other Antiquaries, and a Register; he names some of its eminent members, and observes that many distinguished persons including Lord Arundel had seen its fall with regret. Among the Antiquaries who, it was proposed, should rank among the 'Essentials' of the Academy were fellows of the old Society such as Sir Robert Cotton, Selden, and Spelman. It is noteworthy that the Clarenceux Herald Sir William Le Neve, who is also named, was a collateral ancestor of Peter le Neve, Norroy Herald, the first Chairman and President of the revived Society of Antiquaries at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The Annual Meeting was arranged to take place on St. George's Day, since a special aim of the Academy was to 'celebrate the memory of the Sovereigns of England and the Knights of Saint George or the Garter', and in this again we probably have a real tradition in the date of the Anniversary and feast of the present Society of Antiquaries.

But the project for the creation of an 'Academ Roial' which was to include poets, artists, and musicians among its members as much as Antiquaries or historians was finally extinguished by the death of James I in March 1625. Bolton mentions that Charles I before his father's death had remarked of the scheme 'that it was too good for the times'[1] and he could not be prevailed on to further it as King.

That by this time the old Society of Antiquaries had ceased to carry on its work as a formal corporation cannot be doubted. We are specially informed, however, that its archives in the shape of the various memoirs read before it were religiously preserved. The need of combination amongst those engaged in antiquarian research continued moreover to assert itself.

In 1638 indeed we learn from a manuscript contained among the Surrenden papers[2] of a small Antiquarian Association consisting of Sir Edward Dering, Sir William Dugdale, Sir Christopher Hatton, and Sir Thomas Shirley, which was specially to concern itself with the collection of books and documents containing historical and genealogical information. The document, in Sir Edward Dering's writing, is headed *Antiquitas Rediviva* and contains articles of agreement made 'att a Chapter held the first of May An°. Dni 1638 by the Schollers of Antiquity whose names are underwritten'. Their objects, it will be seen, were limited in scope and their researches indeed are defined as 'especially concerning the Countyes of Kent, Huntingden, Northampton, and

[1] Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 148.
[2] Published by C. Wykeham Martin, *Archaeologia Cantiana*, i, pp. 55–9.

Warwicke'. The Association was strictly confined to the four eminent Scholars whose signatures appear at the end of the articles and would be rather called in modern terms a 'Committee' than a 'Society'. Its formation, however, attests the continued efforts of our Antiquaries towards useful collaboration.

The public manifestations of the Antiquaries as a formal Society had ceased, but their choicer spirits continued at least to be held together by private bonds of fellowship. In the time of the Civil Wars such interests fell naturally into abeyance, but 'the tradition of the elders' certainly survived them.

In Ashmole's Diary,[1] under the date 2nd July 1659, occurs the entry 'Was the Antiquaries Feast'. We have here direct evidence that, in the shape of a social club who 'supped together', according both to the original custom and that revived in 1614, the tradition of the original Society of Antiquaries still prolonged itself into the second half of the seventeenth century. There is indeed no good reason for doubting that in this convivial shape it may have survived to the beginning of the next.

The principal mover in the re-foundation of the Society in 1707 was undoubtedly Humphrey Wanley, well known as a Saxon scholar and a collaborator with Dr. Hickes for his *Thesaurus*, in quest of Saxon manuscripts for which he travelled over England. As librarian to Lord Oxford, he endeavoured to make use of his position for the furtherance of the new Society. Among his notes, for instance, contained in the Harleian MSS. is the following:[2]

> Congratulate his having a Library so well furnished already as to afford many noble rarities fitt to be taken into consideration by such a Society and handed into the World by them, and therefore his house the properest to meet at.
>
> 'Twill be a perpetual honor to him to procure the Meeting of such a Society and in Due time the Establishment of it by a Charter of Encorporation from her Majesty.
>
> To meet at Whitehall after it's rebuilt in a convenient Apartment with Room for a Library and Repository.

It will be seen that Wanley in his attempt to launch anew the Society of Antiquaries had large views. Though he eventually hoped to have the Queen as patron, he recognized the necessity of humble beginnings, as seen in the early meetings at the 'Bear' and the 'Young Divel'. But from the first he laid before it a most comprehensive programme, which in many respects compares with that of the 'Academy for the Studye of Antiquitie and Historie', proposed by the original Society. A list of the various branches of research that it was hoped to cover

[1] *Memoirs of the Life of Elias Ashmole, Esq.*, p. 35.

[2] Harleian MS. 7055, f. 4.

is reproduced from Wanley's MS. in the first volume of *Archaeologia*.[1] Many of the subjects there enumerated will be seen to follow seriatim those set for the Memoirs of the earlier Society of which Wanley was certainly cognizant.

Two copies exist of Wanley's original programme of the aims and organization of the Society, which are to be found in company with his draft minutes of the early meetings of 1707. They are substantially the same, though the second in order takes the form of an address, doubtless to the Earl of Oxford.[2] The first copy of the programme[3] runs as follows:

Such a Society would Bring to light & Preserve all old Monumental Inscriptions, and other pieces of Antiquity yet remaining.

Architecture, Sculpture, Painting, Engraving, Music, &c., will come under their consideration: and the antient Methods being retrieved, perhaps many things may be used afresh to good Purpose.

They will be also able to explain not only most of the Obscure places in our Historians, and other Writers, but others in the Roman and Greek Authors, and consider of their other Antiquities.

In Order to this, they will find it necessary to maintain a Correspondence with the Learned and curious Men in each County, and with the most eminent Persons abroad.

They will send fitt Persons to Travel, throughout England, and also in Other Countries, whose Business might be to Inspect the Books, Writings & other Rarities, which the Owners will be loth to send up to Town: to take the Prospects of antient Fortifications, Castles, Churches, Houses, etc. To take Draughts of Tombs, Inscriptions, Epitaphs, Figures in Painted Glass, etc. To Collect all Material Notices pertaining to History & Antiquity, from the Relation of Persons of known Worth & Veracity; and if need be to buy up the most curious & useful pieces of Antiquity, of all kinds, at the Charge of the Society.

This therefore being an Expensive Project, Great Persons should be taken in at first: and the Queen to be at the head of it.

Such a Society seems to be reserved for her Majesty, and the Establishment of it would be one of the Remarkables of her most Glorious Reign.

The Meeting, Library and Repository, an Ease and Satisfaction to her Majesties Officers Foreign Gentlemen & others Attending.

Will promote the ends of the Union, since a Communication and Correspondence with the Scotch will ensue, which begets mutual Love.

Twill be a School wherein the antient Constitution, Laws and Customs of this Kingdom will be best learn'd and usefully declar'd & mentioned in Parliament: whereby many innovations & troublesome Debates may be prevented: as we have seen great Quarels have arisen thro' the Inexperience of Persons in our Antiquities & antient Constitution, which by the Authority of such a Society would have died in their very birth.

One advantage that Wanley was able to gain for the new Society through Lord Oxford's influence was that he was able to obtain a royal warrant to the Keepers of the Records and public

[1] Introduction, pp. xxxix seqq.

[2] Harleian MS. 7055, f. 11. It begins 'These Sir seem to me to be some of those things which ought to be expected from such a Society'.

[3] *Op. cit.*, f. 10.

To face page 178

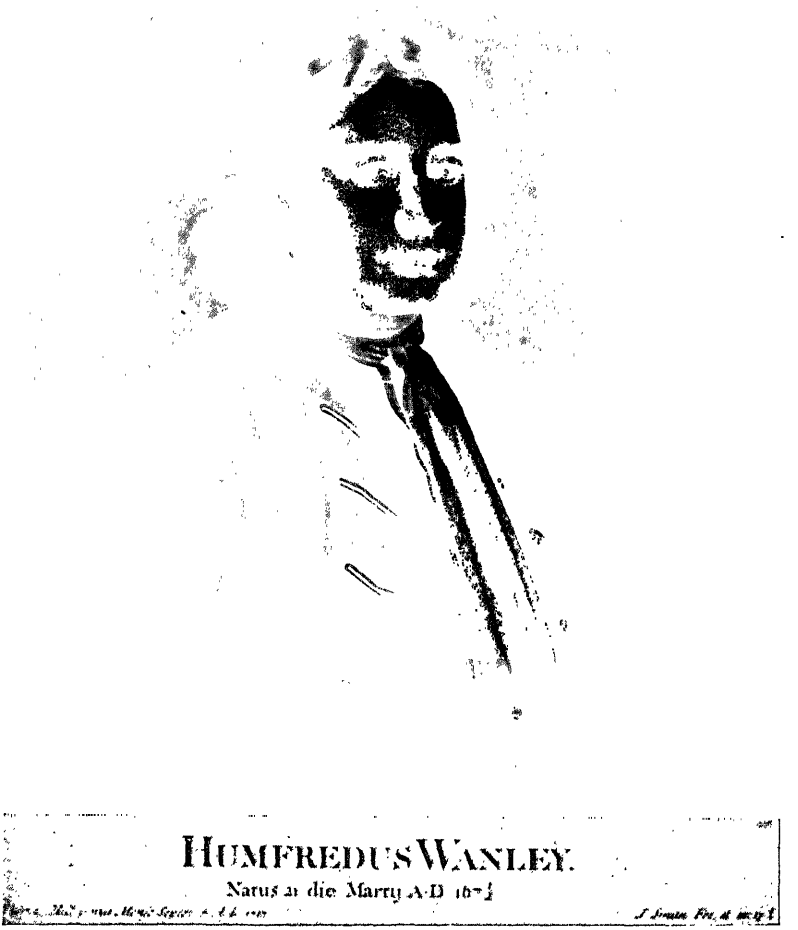


Fig. 3. HUMPHREY WANLEY; RE-FOUNDER OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES

libraries for perusing and transcribing gratis, what he thought fit. This warrant is preserved among the Harleian papers. An original picture of the real re-founder of the Society made by Thomas Hill in 1711 hung in the Society's Room in 1770 [1] and still hangs in our Library. A facsimile of a portrait of Wanley after a print executed in 1717 is given in fig. 3. It is copied from a painting, also by Thomas Hill, dated September 1717.

I have already, I think, said enough to show that our Society, though it was no doubt reconstituted on a more formal basis in 1717, had in fact, for all intents and purposes, existed for ten years before that time. According to the statement in the Introduction to the first volume of *Archaeologia* [2], the Society had met during the Michaelmas Term 1717–18, but their first election of officers was in January 1717–18, when Peter Le Neve, Esq., was chosen President; Dr. Stukeley, Secretary; Mr. Samuel Gale, Treasurer; and Mr. John Talman, Director. Twenty-three names of original members were entered in Stukeley's copy of the Minute Book, July 1717. Of the eleven members of the Society whose names appear in the original minutes as having been elected in January and February 1707, Peter Le Neve, who at that time had the more modest title of 'Chairman', reappears as President, and his early colleagues Wanley, Talman, John Hare, Richmond Herald and George Holmes, 'Clerk to Mr. Petit in the Tower', reappear. Maurice Johnson too, as we know, was a member some time before 1710, when he founded the Spalding Society. But whether owing to death or other causes the names of others are not found.

A certain tendency seems to be traceable in Stukeley's records to minimize the connexion of the Society in its later with its earlier shape. He doubtless wished to share the honour of an entirely new foundation. Moreover, from the 'Articles' inserted by him at the beginning of the 1717–18 Minute Book, in the Society's Library, a somewhat erroneous idea of a constitution already elaborated in every detail is given. As a matter of fact some at least of the most important of these 'Articles' had not been framed at the date, 5th February 1717–18, when the first minutes in this book are recorded. This is seen from Article IX prescribing the ballot at election of members. This rule was in fact only adopted at the meeting of 5th March in that year, when 'it was ordered' by the Society that all Members to be admitted into the same be balloted for and that a balloting box be prepared for that purpose'.

The unbroken character of the tradition on which the reconstituted Society was based comes out in the actual wording

[1] *Archaeologia*, i, p. xxxv, n. *x*.
[2] p. xxxiii.

of its programme as inserted in the Minute Book of 1718. The opening sentence of this runs: 'And whereas our Country abounds with valuble reliques of former Ages now *in the Custody of private Gentlemen*'. The programme drawn up in 1589 by the original Society for the creation of 'an Academy for the Study of Antiquitie and Historie' begins: 'First there are divers and sundry monumentes worthe observation, whereof the originall is extant *in the hands of some privat Gentleman*'.

The main object which the Society had in view continued as before to be a comprehensive study and collection of antiquities of our own country. So far as the means of the Society permitted, Wanley's original proposal was adhered to 'to purchase Antiquities and thus to form a "Repository" or Museum, as contemplated by the Elizabethan Society, as well as a Library'. The design not only of copying, but of printing and publishing, more fully carried out in 1770, when *Archaeologia* was first issued, also now begins to come to the fore, and its first fruits were the drawing and engraving of certain objects under the superintendence of Mr. Director Talman. The first object mentioned is 'a drawing of the picture of Richard 2nd in Westminster Abbey'[1] and the next 'the Horn of Ulphus', which Lord Fairfax, the Parliamentary General, had restored to the Dean and Chapter of York.

But though 'whatever may properly belong to the History of British Antiquities' was the main theme set before the Society, it continued in accordance with an express reservation, of which a record is to be found in the minutes of 12th December 1707, to hold itself free to confer upon any discovery of Antiquities that might be communicated to its Meetings. From the first it regarded no part of the wide archaeological field as beyond its purview. A glance at some of the entries in the first book of the minutes illustrates this extensive range. On the 11th November of the first year, Peter Le Neve, the President, exhibits 'Greek payntings on wood', evidently Byzantine icons. On 24th December, Mr. Samuel Gale, the Treasurer, shows Roman vessels from Port Mahon, and we subsequently hear of a print of a selection of Roman coins made by a Senator of Amiens. A 'very old French pedigree of one of the Dauphins' is a subject of another of the President's communications.[2] Greek epigraphy receives recognition by the Society in the Treasurer's submission to it of Mr. Chesull's 'Inscriptio Sigea'.[3]

Egyptian antiquities also came within the Society's venue. On 26th April 1721 'Mr. Roger Gale brought to the Society

[1] Minutes, 5th Feb. 1717–18.
[2] 3rd Jan. 1720–1.
[3] 22nd Nov. 1721.

a little Ægyptian Osiris of baked green earth, taken out of a mummy in "Grand Cairo",' and on 3rd May next 'Mr. Bryan brought two more of the Ægyptian Gods, one whereof had a different hieroglyphical inscription'.

The original title of the Society, as given by Stukeley in the first Minute Book, is 'The Society of Antiquaries in London'. Later it was generally described as of London. London was its meeting-place, but as in the case of the Elizabethan Society, of which, in so many ways, it preserved the direct tradition, it was in its essence British in the widest extension of the word and claimed to include within its scope all branches of antiquarian research.

The wide range of its interests is well maintained in the early volumes of *Archaeologia*. They extended even beyond the Atlantic and the Indian Ocean, and it is to be noted that the hospitality of its pages was accorded to disquisitions both in French and in Latin. Among the archaeological communications are two on 'Tartarian Antiquities' found in Siberia and another on 'Tartar Burials'. Several of the subjects covered in those days have been since relegated to learned bodies of a more specialized type. 'Remarks on the Sumatran languages', papers on the vases and on the clay masks of 'the Mosquito shore in America', the Antiquities of Saint Domingo or of illustrations of the Red Indian 'Method of Picture Writing', would find their way nowadays to some such quarter as the Anthropological Institute. The Egyptian communications, of which there are several, would also probably have been made in most cases to the Societies that now specially represent that subject of research. The Hellenic Society would certainly have intercepted many of our papers on 'The Temple of Diana at Ephesus', on 'Greek sculpture and inscriptions', on 'the Arundel Marbles', and 'the Barberini Vase'. In the same way papers and discourses dealing with the Columns of Antonine and Trajan, or the Equestrian Statue of Marcus Aurelius at Rome, or the Discoveries at Pompeii might to-day have been appropriately addressed to the Society of Roman Studies. Papers on Indian Pagodas, the Cave Temple of Elephanta, or on a Venetian Campanile and 'Remains of Gothic Architecture in Italy' might have been communicated to the Royal Institute of Architects; others, like the account of an Inscription on a rock of Taunton River, Narragansett Bay, due to Mr. Winthrope, 'Norrisian Professor at Cambridge, New England', might never have crossed the Atlantic.

The disquisitions on coins of various class which abound among our early papers would probably have gone to the Numismatic Society, 'Royal' or 'British'. It is to be observed that

with regard to the coinage of Great Britain the Society adopted the truly Academic plan of arranging for the methodical illustration of the subject by antiquaries who had special knowledge in its various branches. Among the purchases of the Society coins were the most numerous.

The progress of specialization and the division of all scientific labour is the inevitable result of the advance of knowledge. Yet, in spite of the collaboration of many Societies and Institutions in work for which the Society of Antiquaries once stood alone, it has still inherited, as regards Archaeological Science, very wide responsibilities.

It stands in a more or less tutelary or advisory relation to a large number of local Antiquarian Societies. The programme of the Society, as drawn up by Wanley in 1707, contains, as we have seen, the recommendation 'to maintain a correspondence with the learned and curious men in each county', and this recommendation is still carried out by our system of Local Secretaries. The further recommendation 'to send fit persons to travel throughout England and also other Countries for Antiquarian investigation', has received a recent stimulus by the foundation of the Franks Scholarship.

The Society, moreover, possesses another tradition, above referred to, and already strongly developed, as I have shown, in the original Elizabethan Society, which we shall do well never to leave out of our most prominent aims. It is that of methodical and organized research, the pursuit and investigation of problems deliberately propounded. In our Research Fund we have in our hands a new instrument to this end, and methodical excavation carried out, as at Silchester, through a period of years, is one of the most obvious ways in which this instrument can work. But there are other corporate undertakings for the advancement of our subject, which may well deserve consideration. The Society of Antiquaries of London may not only claim the prestige of Antiquity and the strength of a solid foundation, but it still possesses a more catholic and comprehensive tradition than any of its compeers. It largely occupies, in fact, with regard to Archaeology the position held, on the continent of Europe and elsewhere, by the various National Institutes for the promotion of that subject. On this side, at least, its functions are those of the 'Academy for the studye of Antiquity and History', the foundation of which had been the aim of the original Society.

The following resolution was thereupon proposed by the Right Rev. Bishop George Forrest Browne, D.D., D.C.L., Vice-President, seconded by Charles Edward Keyser, Esq., M.A., and carried unanimously:

'That the best thanks of the meeting be given to the President for his address, and that he be requested to allow it to be printed.'

The PRESIDENT signified his assent.

The scrutators having handed in their report, the following were declared elected as officers and council for the ensuing year:

Eleven Members from the Old Council.

Sir Arthur John Evans, Knt., M.A., D.Litt., F.R.S., *President.*
William Minet, Esq., M.A., *Treasurer.*
Sir Edward William Brabrook, Knt., C.B., *Director.*
Charles Reed Peers, Esq., M.A., *Secretary.*
Right Rev. Bishop George Forrest Browne, D.D., D.C.L.
Rev. David Herbert Somerset Cranage, Litt.D.
Arthur Henry Lyell, Esq., M.A.
Lieutenant-Colonel George Babington Croft Lyons.
William Page, Esq.
Sir Charles Hercules Read, Knt., LL.D.
Robert Garraway Rice, Esq.

Ten Members of the New Council.

Rev. William Gilchrist Clark-Maxwell, M.A.
William Dale, Esq.
Walter Knight, Earl Ferrers, M.A.
Charles John ffoulkes, Esq., B.Litt.
William John Hardy, Esq., M.A.
Charles Lethbridge Kingsford, Esq., M.A.
Iltyd Bond Nicholls, Esq.
Colonel John William Robinson Parker, C.B.
John Challenor Covington Smith, Esq.
Emery Walker, Esq.

Pursuant to the Statutes, Chapter III, Section iii, the names of the following who had failed to pay all moneys due from them to the Society were read from the Chair, and the PRESIDENT made an entry of amoval against their names in the Register of the Society:

Herbert Ernest Balch, Esq.
Sir Theodore Andrea Cook, Knt., M.A.
Percy FitzGerald, Esq., M.A.
Robert Henry Forster, Esq., M.A., LL.B.
Francis Bennett Goldney, Esq., M.P.

ROBERT MOND, Esq., F.S.A., presented to the Society an original drawing of George Vertue, F.S.A., by T. Richardson.

Special thanks were voted to Mr. Mond for this present.

A letter was read from Colonel Cauldwell, drawing attention to the fact that Messrs. Wort and Way, of Salisbury, were ploughing up the Cursus on the eastern side of Stonchenge.

Resolved:

That a letter of protest be sent from the Society to Messrs. Wort and Way.

THURSDAY, 3rd MAY 1917.

The Rt. Rev. Bishop GEORGE FORREST BROWNE, D.D., D.C.L., Vice-President, and afterwards WILLIAM PAGE, Esq., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The following gifts were announced, and thanks for the same ordered to be returned to the donors:

From the Author:—Catalogue of the collection of Greek and Roman antiquities in the possession of Lord Leconfield. By the Honourable Margaret Wyndham. (Medici Society.) 4to. London, 1915.

From Rev. W. G. D. Fletcher, F.S.A.:—Shrewsbury School register, 1636 to 1664. Transcribed and edited by J. E. Auden. 8vo. Shrewsbury, 1917.

From William Ravenscroft, Esq., F.S.A.:—Milford on Sea Record Society: an occasional magazine. March 1917, vol. 2, no. 3. 8vo. Lymington, 1917.

From Mrs. J. Murray Mackinlay, in memory of the Author, J. Murray Mackinlay, F.S.A.:—

1. Influence of the pre-Reformation church on Scottish place-names. 8vo. Edinburgh, 1904.
2. Ancient church dedications in Scotland: Scriptural dedications. 8vo. Edinburgh, 1910.
3. ——— Non-Scriptural dedications. 8vo. Edinburgh, 1914.

From the Author:—The golden days of the early English church, from the arrival of Theodore to the death of Bede. 3 vols. By Sir Henry H. Howorth, K.C.I.E., F.R.S., F.S.A. 8vo. London, 1917.

The Rt. Rev. Bishop BROWNE, V.P., exhibited some sheets of a *Temporale* of 1350–1390 and read a paper on some pen-and-ink

drawings in its text and margins and on the sequence *Sollempne Canticum* for the day of St. Thomas of Canterbury, which will be printed in *Archaeologia*.

Rev. H. F. WESTLAKE referred to the erasure of St. Thomas's name, and recalled the action of many gilds founded in the saint's honour when Henry VIII removed St. Thomas from the calendar. The gilds managed to retain their dedication, but were nominally transferred to St. Thomas the Apostle.

Mr. RICE mentioned that the same thing occurred at Winchelsea, where the two saints came into conflict, or at least were confused in the popular mind.

The CHAIRMAN thought it fortunate that the illuminated manuscript had fallen into such good hands. He knew of several fragments in Hertfordshire rescued from a tailor's shop, where they were destined to serve as stiffening for the clothes of the neighbouring gentry. The Bishop deserved the warm thanks of the Society for his interesting and learned paper.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for this communication.

THURSDAY, 10th MAY 1917.

Sir ARTHUR JOHN EVANS, Knt., D.Litt., F.R.S., President, in the Chair.

The following were admitted Fellows of the Society:

Rt. Hon. Lewis, Viscount Harcourt, D.C.L.
Henry Harold Hughes, Esq.

Notice was given of a ballot for the election of Fellows to be held on Thursday, 7th June 1917, and a list of the candidates to be put to the ballot was read.

The PRESIDENT announced that he had appointed Lt.-Colonel George Babington Croft Lyons a Vice-President of the Society.

Letters were read from Somers Clarke, Esq., F.S.A., drawing attention to the proposal to erect collegiate buildings in the immediate neighbourhood of the pyramids of Gizeh, and urging the Society to protest.

Sir HERCULES READ was glad to enter a personal protest, as during his tenure of office in the Society he had had dealings with the Egyptian Government, in almost all cases with a successful result. He thought it an outrage on modern civilization, as represented in the country and the Society, to propose that a building of any kind should be allowed to interfere with that magnificent outline seen on approaching the pyramids of Gizeh. To him there seemed no other course possible than to preserve those monuments and their surroundings as they stood and had stood for centuries; and he relied on the meeting to protest vigorously against any change that could detract from the solemn beauty of the pyramids.

The PRESIDENT felt that all intelligent opinion on both sides of the Atlantic would be entirely in line with the Society's action in the matter, and submitted the following resolution, which had been drawn up by the Executive Committee:

'The Society of Antiquaries of London, having been informed of the proposal to erect large collegiate buildings in the immediate neighbourhood of the pyramids of Gizeh, is of opinion that it is impossible to justify such a use of a site of supreme historical and archaeological interest, and that any interference with the integrity of the view of the pyramids from the surrounding country would amount to an outrage on civilization.

The Society desires that representations to this effect may be immediately put before the authorities in order that the matter may not be prejudiced by initial steps which might render the business of stopping this unspeakable proposal more difficult.'

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Sir WILLIAM ST. JOHN HOPE, Litt.D., D.C.L., read a paper on the Sarum Consuetudinary and its relation to the cathedral church of Old Sarum, which will be printed in *Archaeologia*.

It had generally been assumed that the Sarum Consuetudinary was written for use in the existing cathedral church of Salisbury. But that church was not begun to be built until 1220, whereas the best authorities considered that the Consuetudinary was drawn up not later than *c.* 1210. It was, moreover, clearly for use in a church differing altogether in arrangement and surroundings from that at Salisbury. The recent excavation and recovery of the plan of the Old Sarum church had now brought other evidence forward, and the present paper was an attempt to show that the Consuetudinary applied to Old Sarum, and was compiled for use in the church there while it was still in being.

The Rev. W. H. FRERE felt convinced by the arguments adduced, and could only mention minor points that remained to be cleared up. There was a second edition of the Consuetudinary in the form of a Customary; and he would be glad to know if Sir William Hope had found elements that were out of date eliminated from the later work. In any case such survivals would not contradict the main theory, for if the system were practically serviceable, absolute accuracy would not have been insisted upon.

Mr. LELAND DUNCAN asked whether the dedication of the parish church in Salisbury to St. Thomas was due to a connexion with the altar of St. Thomas in the cathedral church of Old Sarum.

Canon WESTLAKE held that the Customary, which was certainly later than the Consuetudinary, was drawn up for parochial, not for cathedral use; for instance, in the matter of lights upon the altar. Could the great vogue of the Sarum or Salisbury use all over England be explained? At Ipswich in 1325 the two priors, in granting a constitution to the gild of Corpus Christi, directed that on Maundy Thursday the members should assemble at St. Peter's at Tower for ceremonies after the use of Salisbury. Possibly the reason of its popularity was that a parochial use was practically unique and was generally adopted by parishes in preference to any cathedral use.

Sir HERCULES READ thought it impossible, after hearing the paper, to apply the Consuetudinary to anything but Old Sarum; but there was another moral to point. Papers read before the Society were nothing but the bricks and mortar out of which historians and philosophers could build up the history of the country. Writing and reading a paper did not mean the end of the matter, and it was only after publication that scholars could begin to work upon the subject, as in the case of Old Sarum or Wroxeter. The direct utility of excavations was thus obvious, and such work could no longer be regarded as the pastime of leisured, if also energetic, individuals. The uncovering of Old Sarum was of considerable historical value; and though it was not essential to judge archaeological work from that point of view exclusively, he thought it advisable to have such an argument for the scoffer and the unlearned. In appreciating the lucid interpretation of the Consuetudinary, the Society's work with the spade should not be overlooked.

The Rev. W. H. FRERE added, in answer to questions, that the Customary had a double purpose, being adapted to parish

churches as well as cathedrals. As proof of that he mentioned that it contained provision for the behaviour of the Dean, and the seating of the clergy in parish churches. Its wide dissemination was due to the fact that it had a good code of customs and an ordinal, which other foundations did not possess. Its reputation for a sound standard was soon obtained, and its only rival was York, another Norman foundation. Hereford developed later, and Lincoln had a few local additions. Dioceses that had a monastic cathedral had to look elsewhere for guidance, and Salisbury was put on a pinnacle. There was a passage in the Consuetudinary that mentioned the Treasurer in connexion with a light burning in the Treasury by the Sepulchre on Good Friday; but such a position for candles seemed inconsistent with the plan presented to the meeting.

Sir WILLIAM HOPE replied that the welcome given to his views was highly gratifying; and he was cordially in agreement as to the value of excavations. Dr. Frere had virtually answered his own questions. Chapters and directions applicable only to Old Sarum had indeed been omitted from the Customary, which obviously related to Salisbury. The Sepulchre was in the Treasury, not in the presbytery; and that unique position did not seem to square with the directions for other ceremonies. He preferred to interpret the passage to mean that the Treasurer had to find the two candles to place before the Sepulchre. The dedications to St. Thomas and St. Edmund in Salisbury were perhaps repeated from Old Sarum; and there was a parallel case at Winchelsea.

The PRESIDENT, in proposing a vote of thanks, dwelt on the good fortune of the Society in obtaining the dry bones of history by excavation and in clothing them by means of the Consuetudinary.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for this communication.

THURSDAY, 24th MAY 1917.

Sir ARTHUR JOHN EVANS, Knt., D.Litt., F.R.S., President, in the Chair.

The following gifts were announced, and thanks for the same ordered to be returned to the donors:

From James Curtis, Esq., F.S.A. :—
1. Register of freemen of the City of London in the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI. 8vo. London, 1908.
2. A dissertation upon odd numbers, particularly nos. 7 and 9. By James Curtis. 12mo. London, 1909.

From William Whitaker, Esq., F.R.S. :—A brief inquiry concerning Pen pits near Stourhead. By John Cranch. 8vo. Frome, 1820.

From the Rev. J. T. Fowler, D.C.L., F.S.A. :—
1. On the true principles of English ritual. By J. T. Micklethwaite. 4to. n.p., n.d.
2. Calices de saint Gérard et de saint Josse. Par G. R. de Fleury. 4to. n.p. 1885.
3. Seven drawings and photographs of monastic buildings, etc.

From Maurice Rosenheim, Esq., F.S.A. :—Contemporary manuscript copies of state papers relating to affairs with Germany, chiefly of the early years of the reign of George III.

Notice was again given of the ballot for the election of Fellows to be held on Thursday, 7th June 1917, and the list of candidates to be put to the ballot was again read.

The list of Local Secretaries, nominated by the Council for the quadrennial period, 1917–21, was read and approved.

P. M. JOHNSTON, Esq., F.S.A., read the following paper on the discovery of a pre-Conquest window, with early painting on the internal splays, in Witley church, Surrey: with notes on other recent discoveries of early paintings on window-splays:

In November 1916, the Rev. Edward J. Newill, Vicar of Witley, Surrey, made an interesting discovery in his church of a double-splayed window, of pre-Conquest date, in the south wall of the nave, with early painting, possibly coeval, on the inner splays. The circumstances leading up to this discovery have a certain interest. Mr. Newill was assisting at the National Mission Services in Great Bookham church, and was much impressed by the beauty and interest of a Norman window with coeval painting on its splays, which I had opened out in the autumn of 1913, and of which I had written an account

for the Surrey Archaeological Society. On his return he set himself to find whether a similar window might not remain blocked up in the nave walls of Witley church, which on the evidence of the interesting south doorway had always hitherto been classed by antiquaries as belonging to the Early Norman period. I had twice written an account of Witley church,[1] and had ascribed the earliest work visible to the eye to the last quarter of the eleventh century. Mr. Newill's discovery puts back the chronology of Witley church to a date before the Norman Conquest, and adds one more to our list of Saxon churches in Surrey.

The plan of the church is of considerable interest as an example of growth. The Saxon church, which had walls of exceptional thickness (3 ft. 2 in., or more in parts), consisted simply of nave and chancel, the nave very spacious, 44 ft. 6 in. by 18 ft. 6 in., and the chancel apparently no more than a square of about 14 ft. on plan. The nave remained with its plan unaltered till about 1844, when part of the north wall was broken out to form a short aisle. The first extension must have taken place in the last decade of the twelfth century, when the Saxon chancel became the existing handsome central tower, with the addition of transepts and a well-developed chancel. The south transept, which retains its original plan undisturbed, measures 15 ft. 6 in. in length, by 13 ft. 9 in.: the chancel, 26 ft. 6 in. by 15 ft. 2 in. A large parallel-gabled Lady Chapel, known as the Witley Manor Chapel, of about the same size as the chancel, was thrown out on its northern side, opening from the north transept, in about the middle of the thirteenth century. The south porch, curiously out of the centre of the south doorway, has modern stone walls, but the roof is ancient, and the porch was evidently originally a timber one. The north aisle, vestry, organ-chamber, and north porch are modern.

The south doorway, which has hitherto dated the fabric of the nave, is now, with more likelihood, to be considered an insertion during the Conqueror's reign in a pre-existing Saxon wall. It displaces or conceals a Saxon doorway. It is a remarkable feature in itself, the opening being of the exceptional width of 5 ft. with a height of 9 ft. 7 in. It is set in a projecting mass of masonry, of rich golden-orange Bargate stone, and the wide shallow piers by which it is flanked have evidently once supported a pediment or gable, perhaps of 45° or 50° pitch, of which the later porch obscures any slight remains.

[1] *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, vol. xxvii, p. 103, 'Great Bookham Church'. Ibid., vol. xviii, p. 80: also, the *Victoria History of Surrey*, vol. iii, p. 67.

Such a gable over a Norman doorway exists in perfect preservation in the west wall of the tower, St. Margaret-at-Cliffe, Dover; another well-known example is the south doorway at Adel, near Leeds; and Lullington, Somerset, is a third. But the nearest in date and resemblance is the Norman doorway, inserted within or over a Saxon opening in the Saxon south porch of Bishopstone church, Sussex. Here, as at Witley, the doorway is of a single order, beneath a gable of shallow projection and somewhat flat pitch. Additional reasons for the Witley doorway being an insertion are to be found in the fact that the west quoins of the nave and a curious plastered plinth on the west and south walls are in rubble. This plinth is a truly remarkable survival; and a close inspection, taken in conjunction with the plastered rubble quoins, the plastered walling, and the recovered window, leaves no doubt as to its genuineness. There are other instances of plastered walling and of rubble quoins, still, or until an evil restoration destroyed the original coating, covered with the Saxon stucco—which would seem to have been of a peculiarly enduring nature—but I can point to no other example of a pre-Conquest plastered plinth or water-table.[1] There seems to be no doubt that the plaster coating on the walls, worn thin and patched, is also the original. This is made clear by the recent discovery of the pre-Conquest window, which is immediately to the westward of a large window of *c.* 1260, consisting of two lights under an enclosing arch, with a perforation in the head, following the lines of the pointed enclosing and sub-arches. This window is wrought in hard chalk, which has weathered extremely well. Westward of the south porch is another inserted window, the inner arch, radiating with the splays of the jambs, being in fine-jointed early thirteenth-century ashlar, of small stones. This is filled with ugly tracery of churchwarden character. Before 1844 it had a wooden frame and originally, perhaps, two lancets.[2] Its insertion in *c.* 1210 doubtless destroyed an original pre-Conquest window. There were evidently two such windows in the south wall of the nave; two also in the north, with a doorway answering to the south doorway, and probably the little square chancel had one in the east wall and another north or south. As to the west wall of the nave, there is, curiously enough, a Saxon window remaining

[1] At Compton church, Surrey, in the near neighbourhood of Witley, the pre-Conquest tower has no ashlar dressings, the narrow loops and the quoins being of rubble.

[2] Cf. Wotton, Surrey, where are similar early thirteenth century two-light windows, also inserted in the pre-Conquest south wall of the nave.

in the gable-end, which, until lately, was completely hidden by a thick growth of ivy: it escaped detection on this account, and was not identified for what it is until the recent discovery of the exactly similar opening in the south wall. From its elevated position, in the apex of the gable, it must either have served to light a roof-chamber—a feature common in our Saxon churches—or else to hang a bell out of, as at Corhampton, Hants, Old Shoreham and Walberton, Sussex, and Chaldon, Surrey. The three-light Perpendicular window below has obliterated any original window that may have occupied the middle space of the west wall, and the plain doorway beneath with a two-centred arch is also, of course, a later insertion.

In May 1917 the Saxon window in the south wall of the nave, which had been located and partially unblocked by the Rev. E. J. Newill, was opened out under my superintendence. It proved to be a very interesting type of double-splayed opening, with inclined jambs and an ovoid head, and although the eastern half had been nearly all destroyed by the insertion of the thirteenth-century window, enough remained to make a paper restoration of the complete window, and the missing right-hand jamb has been built up to give back the original sight-line of the actual opening, without, however, replacing the lost splay inside or out.[1]

The sight size of the window is 3 ft. 3 in. by 9 in. at the sill, diminishing to 6 in. at the springing (fig. 1). What would be called the glass-plane in an ordinary window is 9 in. from the face of the wall, giving a narrow outward splay of 5 in. in width by 9 in., and the same for the sill; the whole—jamb, sill, and ovoid head—being built in thin pieces of rubble, still coated with the original cream-coloured plaster. Behind this external splay we found a very perfect groove, 3 in. wide, tapering to a wedge shape at the ends, in which were still remaining fragments of the oak slab or shutter-frame, carried 7 in. into the wall horizontally, and terminating vertically in a rectangular form, considerably above the top of the arched splay of the window-head. The groove was neatly coated with hard mortar, and the slab had evidently been built in with the rubble-work.

The internal splay was narrow and deep, i. e. 1 ft. in width, by 2 ft. 2 in. in depth, the total inside width of the window between the splays being originally 2 ft. 9 in., and its height 5 ft. The internal splays are carried up to a vertical line, instead of following the inclination of the outer splays. The height to the splay of the inside sill from the floor is 9 ft. 9 in.,

[1] This would have been impossible, as well as undesirable, because of the existence of the thirteenth-century window.

and from the crown of the splay to the wall-plate 4 ft. 9 in., giving the wall a total height, with the window itself, of 19 ft. 6 in. Such a very high wall for an ordinary village church is exceptional, and is in itself a clear indication of pre-Conquest date.

The interior splays of this window when opened out were found to be plastered with the original thin coat of hard lime-and-sand plaster, about $\frac{5}{8}$ in. thick; and not only so, but to be

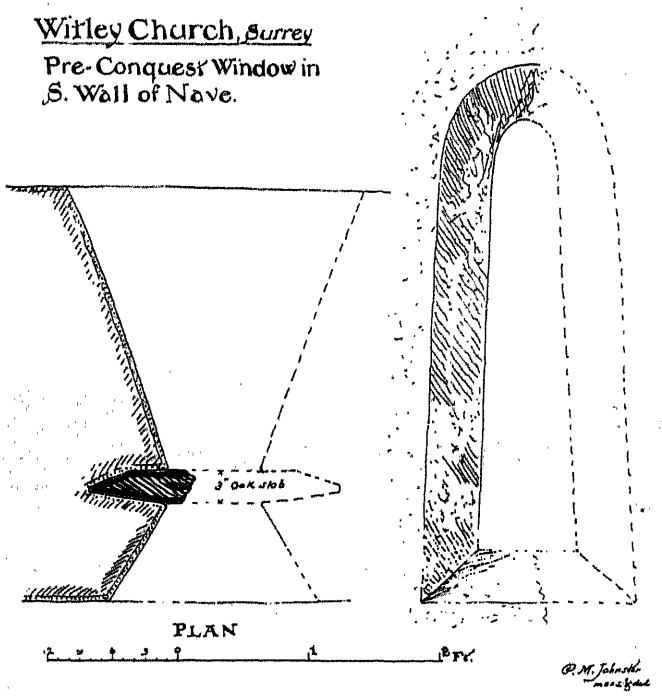


Fig. 1.

painted with what in all likelihood is the original colour decoration. Moreover, as this window occurs in a wall which retains for the most part its Saxon plaster, and as there are large remains of wall-paintings round the window, the decoration upon the splays being continued in one scheme with that on the wall surface, it is at least probable that we have in the whole scheme a rare and valuable survival of pre-Conquest painting (fig. 2). Beside the archaic style of the work, another fact lends weight to the exceptionally early date which I venture

to claim for the painting, viz. that there is no coat of limewhite or *intonaco*, but the painting has been executed on the roughly trowelled or floated plaster, probably while it was still wet, so that, as a process, it answers, more or less, to that of *fresco buono*, as practised in Italy. Hitherto no ancient example of this process, as distinct from *fresco secco*, or ordinary tempera painting, has been produced in England; but the discovery at Witley suggests at least the possibility that a group of early paintings in Surrey and Sussex may be classed with those at Witley as true frescoes; or at any rate as differing from the common distemper paintings in being painted direct upon the raw plaster. The paintings I refer to are, or were, to be found in the following churches: St. Mary's Guildford (paintings destroyed in 1900, on the inner splays of double-splayed Saxon windows in the tower, blocked up by the insertion of Early Norman arches),[1] Clayton, Keymer, Westmeston, Plumpton, and Hardham (paintings of very early character, late eleventh century and early twelfth century, all discovered during the 'sixties, and destroyed, except Clayton and Hardham):[2] Ford church, Sussex, where I found a fragment of similar character, and at Eastergate, on the north wall of the pre-Conquest chancel, is some very early tempera painting representing martyrs in flames, with a cornice of the Greek fret pattern. I should here mention, because of their almost certain Saxon date, although only in ordinary tempera, the remarkable paintings on the splays of a pre-Conquest window discovered in the south wall of the nave of Kingsdown church near Farningham, Kent, in 1909. I made facsimile copies of these when applying a preservative treatment in that year, and deposited them in the collection that is being formed at the Victoria and Albert Museum. The subjects were: east splay—the offerings of Cain and Abel; west splay—the murder of Abel, Cain being represented with blood-splashed clothes, killing his brother with the jaw-bone of an animal slain in sacrifice.[3]

[1] I saw these before their deplorable destruction by workmen sent to colour-wash the church, and have a slight sketch of one—Abraham offering up Isaac, very similar to the paintings at Witley in style and technique.

[2] All except Keymer are illustrated in *Sussex Archaeological Collections*. An account by myself of Hardham, with coloured illustrations, was published in *The Archaeological Journal*, vol. li. All these churches were held by Lewes Priory, and the paintings were perhaps executed by men trained in the Priory.

[3] Cf. for what is evidently an ancient tradition as to the lethal weapon employed by Cain, the passage in *Hamlet*, v. i, 'That skull had a tongue in it, and could sing once; how the knave jowls it to the ground, as if it were Cain's jaw-bone, that did the first murder!'



Fig. 2. WITLEY CHURCH: PAINTINGS ON WINDOW-SPLAY.

On the splayed head of the Saxon window at Witley is painted the lower part of a tower, the upper part of which is continued on the face of the wall above, and this is divided by a cloud-border of bold curves, repeated on the right above, from the sky of a tawny red colour. The lower part of the tower is of greyish white, crossed with white lines in body-colour, above which have been two little 'windows' with horse-shoe heads, of which one only remains perfect. These are outlined in white and filled in with red. To the right appear two similar 'windows', of which the ground is a vegetable black, now mostly gone, which are immediately above the same clouds. On the vertical part of the splay is an inscription border, continuous with that on the wall-face to the westward, on which, when the blocking was newly removed, two or three letters in very faint vegetable black were still discernible, but they soon faded almost completely. The last letter, to the right, was R:, with a triple full stop. Before that may have been the letters ĀIh, with a contraction mark of crescent shape cutting through the stem of the I, and possibly another like a comma above the h and close to the R: but this is somewhat conjectural.

The scene depicted on the splay below is fortunately more clear. It appears to represent the Visitation of Elizabeth by the Blessed Virgin Mary. On the right is a tower, or house, with a conical roof or gable, in white, red, pink, and yellow, against the red ochre background. On the left, very cleverly fitted in to the upward slope of the splayed sill, is Elizabeth, reclining in a half-sitting posture, such as a lady in an 'interesting' condition might fittingly assume, with her right hand supporting her head, and the left on her bosom. The Blessed Virgin advances towards her, with her right hand pointing backwards over her left shoulder, as if pointing to the Incarnation as a past event, while her left is partly hidden in the flowing white robe with a broad pink border which conceals her figure. Both have white veils, the folds of which are indicated by thin yellow lines over their heads, very Eastern in treatment, and their dresses are also in a cream-white, outlined in white body-colour, with a broad hem at the foot, of pink. Below is a ground, or pavement, of brownish yellow ochre, which is the colour used for Elizabeth's couch. Neither saint has a nimbus, which, however, is not always found in our earlier paintings. The faces are coloured in rather a deep tone of pink, the features being somewhat coarsely indicated by slight touches of a reddish colour, heightened with white body-colour, which is used also for the eyes, those of Mary being downcast, while Elizabeth's are upturned, as if listening in awe and wonderment to her cousin's marvellous story.

The paintings on the south wall of the nave adjacent to this window were partially cleared of whitewash, though unfortunately in part covered up again, in 1889; but their importance and antiquity had been insufficiently recognized, until the discovery of the window, when the fact of their belonging to a scheme of decoration of which the paintings on the window-splay formed a part was made evident. They seem originally to have occupied three zones, carried entirely round the walls of the nave. Under the wall-plate was a frieze of bands of colour and a shadowed Greek fret, measuring 8 in. in total width (fig. 3). I uncovered a strip of the latter over the Saxon window which had been concealed by a thick coat of plaster, dubbed out with

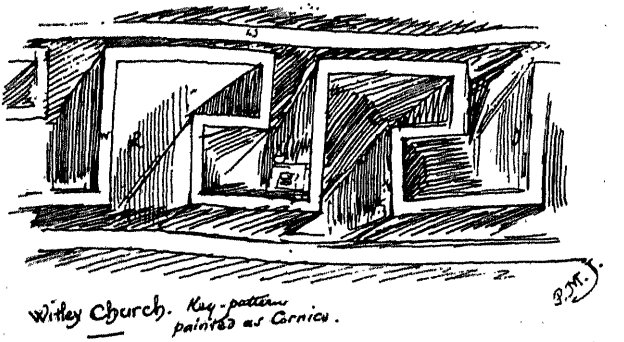


Fig. 3.

pieces of tile to make vertical the battering of the top of the Saxon wall. There is a border of this ornament in the early series of paintings at Clayton, Sussex, on the pre-Conquest wall by the chancel arch. Mr. N. H. J. Westlake, F.S.A., in his *History of Mural Paintings*, considers the basis of this painting to be pre-Conquest, including this shadowed fret. I have also found the Greek fret in outline as a frieze in the painting, probably of pre-Conquest date, in the chancel of Eastergate church, Sussex, as above mentioned.

Including this frieze, the strip of painting at present uncovered at Witley measures about 20 ft. by 10 ft. in height. This includes the two upper tiers or zones; a third tier beneath these has been largely destroyed by mural monuments; and there might have been a fourth tier or dado. The top tier measures 4 ft. 6 in. in height: then comes a 3 in. inscription border, and next a tier 3 ft. 10 in. wide, beneath which is a triple border, 8 in. wide, at the springing line of the inner arch to the south doorway. The subjects painted in these two upper zones are not easily inter-

preted, nor do they appear to follow a precise historical sequence, or to bear any close analogy to other early paintings in the scheme or its details. The same red and yellow ochres, with white thickly applied, cream, various shades of pink, and a vegetable black sparingly used, comprise, as in the window-splay, the range of colours employed. Beginning with the top zone, on the left, we have part of a subject with flames painted in deep red. Next is the gabled tower that is continued on the splayed head of the windows, with pairs of 'windows' outlined in white and red on a yellow ground, the openings coloured a deep red. It has three 'windows' in its gable end, to the right of which is a roof of scale tiles or shingles, outlined in red on a white ground, the courses of shingles being emphasized by a thick black line at intervals. There is a corresponding tower with a gabled top on the right, and the artist appears to have intended a building in perspective, probably the stable at Bethlehem, as beneath may be discerned bending and kneeling figures of shepherds, with a crook, and a figure of a woman seated on a chair or throne under an arched canopy, with the new-born Babe on her knee. The Visit of the Shepherds is the fairly obvious interpretation. To the right are three mysterious figures, under arched or domed canopies, flanked by columns with capitals and bases. The first figure belongs to this subject and faces towards the last scene. It is probably Joseph, a bearded man in a long robe. Next appears a woman with a white hood or mantle over her face, looking and pointing in the reverse direction: and the third figure, turning towards the last, also in a hooded mantle, may be either a man or woman. Between them is a very singular domed structure on top of a pier or tower: and the third figure stands behind a smaller one of a young girl on its right. This last faces to the right, and both figures are standing beneath undulating white clouds and a red sky, showing that an outdoor scene is intended. Beneath the sky is a 'field' of cream colour, against which various animals in shaded white and yellow may be discerned: some appear to be horned, and a larger beast in the lower part of the field may be a wolf, with a great bird or beast of some sort in advance of it. Over these, on the sky, is an inscription in white letters, too fragmentary to decipher.[1] On the field and carried up into the sky is a boldly drawn tree, with large leaves or fronds, like a date-palm, painted in greyish white, cream, and pale yellow. This appears to complete the subject: and the next scene is of a feast, with guests seated behind a table spread with a white cloth, on which are several dishes, plates, and drinking vessels. Three or

[1] There would seem to have been many contractions, with small letters over the others, and diphthongs: a P is fairly distinct.

four guests are all that can at present be made out, but the space indicated for this subject, if it were placed centrally with the doorway, would hold, perhaps, nine more. In the second zone the Visit of the Magi is probably the subject immediately to the right of the Saxon window (beneath the Nativity in the zone above), and here there seem to have been two figures on the left, one nimbed, bending over a beehive-shaped shrine, on the right side of which three figures in profile are approaching together. They are crowned, and have upraised hands, as though bearing their gifts. The Holy Child was perhaps laid before the shrine, but this part is obscured by a mural tablet. The figures on the left may be Mary (nimbed), with an attendant woman, who raises her hand in wonderment. The dresses are in yellow, white, red, and pink, against a red ground, and the outlines, especially the features, appear to have been drawn with a sharpened stick in the wet plaster, leaving a firm outline which has been filled with yellow ochre.[1]

With his back to the Magi is a nimbed figure, having a low crown or cape over a hooded mantle, and grasping in his right hand a T-headed staff. He approaches other figures, too indistinct for any exact description. Next is a still more puzzling scene. A figure in a yellow and white dress, with short full tunic, bordered with red, yellow, and white, is seated upon a throne or dais, holding a staff or spear in his right hand. Confronting him are two persons in similar tunics, with white legs and yellow shoes, falling on their heads, their legs waving in the air (fig. 4). They seem to be bound round with a rope or chain, which also passes across the figure on the throne. Their heads and arms do not appear, being concealed by another mural tablet. To the right again, close up to the plastered arch, which I believe to represent the original Saxon door case, are two other figures, which, though their heads are turned away, appear to belong to the subject.

Further exploration of the nave walls was not feasible at the time of my examination, but it is evident that the original scheme extends both eastward and westward under the colour-wash; and complete uncovering is very desirable in view of the exceptional antiquity and the curious character of the paintings. I have sprayed them and applied a coating of paraffin wax, making a full size tracing and many pencil drawings. A coloured facsimile of the figures on the window-splay, to be framed and preserved in the church, has been left with the vicar, who has most generously borne the entire expense of the whole.

[1] I cannot remember having seen such thin firm outlines in any other ancient paintings.

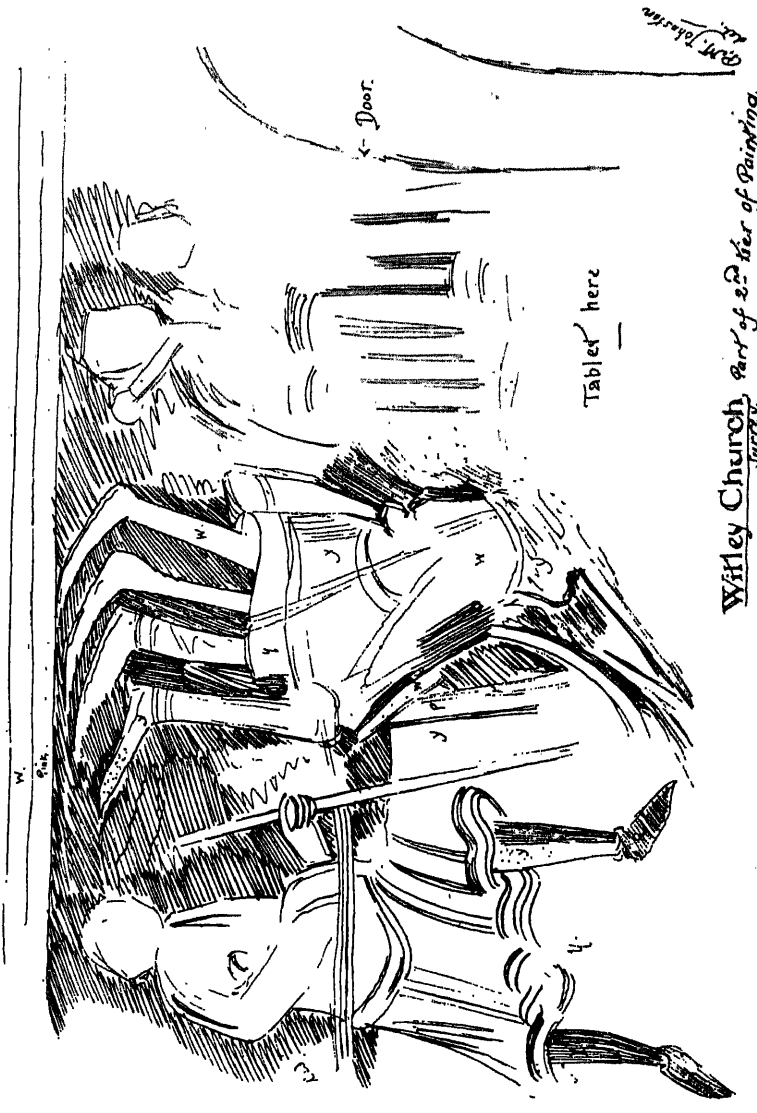

Door.
Tablet here
Witley Church, Surrey. Part of E. Nr. of Painting.

Fig. 4.

NOTE.—Before the Norman Conquest Witley was among the possessions of the powerful Earl Godwin (father of King Harold) who died in 1052. It seems very probable that he built the church and caused its walls to be painted. That our Saxon churches were frequently thus decorated appears clear from such a passage as that in the writings of the Venerable Bede, who tells us that Benedict Biscop, *c.* A.D. 672, 'carried home with him', from Rome, 'paintings of holy subjects for the ornament of the church of the Blessed Peter the Apostle, which he had built at Monkwearmouth'. Bede specifies paintings of the Blessed Virgin and the Twelve Apostles, as mounted upon a boarding from wall to wall. Other subjects were 'the figures of the Gospel history' on 'the southern part of the church', the visions of the Apocalypse on the north, etc., etc. Such imported paintings, on linen or canvas, would soon be copied on the actual plaster of the walls.

Mr. CARÖE had had the good fortune to find a similar case at Canterbury. He knew Witley church well, and was about to pay it another visit. It would be difficult to name another fresco of so early a date, as the method was hardly known in the country; but as the work could be rubbed without damage there was no doubt that the true fresco method was adopted in the present case. The drawings exhibited were admirably executed. There was another instance of painting on splays, of a little later date, at St. John the Baptist's church, Doddington, near Sittingbourne. During the repair of a crack in the chancel, a painting was found and described as St. Patrick on account of some serpents or red devils. A thirteenth-century window had been walled up, and flint walls built inside and outside. There had been a crack at a weak spot, and in the space between was discovered the painting, which was evidently of St. Francis, showing the stigmata. Except for the hands the figure was complete, and had been executed on plaster, so that exposure would fade and destroy the colour. The choice of position was due to lighting, and on the darker splay opposite there was simply foliated work.

Mr. VALLANCE remarked that the term fresco was often erroneously used, but the evidence was sufficient to show that it properly described the Witley paintings. The plaster had been applied in layers and the joints were visible; but he had never come across another instance in the country. He inquired whether there was any foreign connexion to account for the scratched outlines in the *sgraffito* manner.

The SECRETARY expressed his gratitude for an admirable paper, and was sure the Society would appreciate the trouble taken to preserve a record of the paintings. Mr. Johnston had shown great diligence and enthusiasm in searching for pre-Conquest paintings. At St. Mary's, Guildford, there had been a painting in a pre-Conquest window; and at Witley there was a pre-Conquest window with a painting that might be contemporary; but could the Witley productions be compared with any paintings acknowledged to be of Saxon date? In his opinion they resembled nothing to be found in illuminated manuscripts, or in the work of known Saxon schools. More evidence was needed to show that the Witley style preceded and did not follow the Conquest. He thought it best to suspend judgement as to the date of the paintings, which were interesting on their own account; but no treatment of them would be complete without an inquiry where any such technique could be found in the manuscripts of the early eleventh century. The exhibit was very welcome, and the representation of Cain with the jaw-bone was of special interest.

Mr. NEWMAN agreed that the question of date was a difficult one, but the work seemed to him more like that of the thirteenth or fourteenth century than Anglo-Saxon. As a parallel to the splay with the Annunciation and a lily, he quoted his own discovery at Harbledown, where the whole subject was represented on two splays of a window.

Mr. JOHNSTON replied that the structural evidence of date seemed quite clear, the paintings being contemporary with the masonry; and there was no dressed stonework except the south door, which was probably an insertion. All the openings and quoins were rubble with plaster, and wherever the surface had perished, the stain of the paint remained in the plaster, proving that the true fresco method had been adopted. Mr. Keyser had come to the same conclusion, and Mr. Westlake could trace a Greek tradition in Saxon art, being quite ready to regard the Witley frescoes as pre-Conquest. Mr. Keyser had purchased the reproductions to present to the Victoria and Albert Museum, and thus showed his zeal in preserving records of that kind.

The PRESIDENT agreed that much evidence had been brought forward that some at least of the paintings were pre-Conquest; but he felt some difficulty in reconciling the style with that of the manuscripts. As the two categories were not *in pari materia*, it was, however, easy to be misled. It was startling to find true fresco in England, as the climate was supposed to be against its production. He was familiar with much earlier fresco in Crete,

where the climate was more suitable. In any case it had proved remarkably durable, and exposure only made the colouring more brilliant. Not only did the paper deserve the thanks of the Society, but Mr. Johnston's successful efforts to rescue the Witley and other paintings were a matter for congratulation.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for this communication.

The following note has since been received from Mr. Caröe:

Since hearing Mr. Johnston's paper I have had an opportunity of carefully inspecting with Mr. Peers the above early wall-paintings. The Rector, the Rev. E. J. Newill, kindly afforded us every possible facility. I believe the paintings are early Norman work, but am open to conviction upon this point. The paintings are directly upon the plaster surface. The method of painting appears to have been to lay on a coat of red or yellow, leaving certain forms to be represented by the plain plaster and painting over the red or the plaster in white of varying shades. The paintings appear to have been overlaid with a coat of white lime as a basis for later work. There is one indication remaining of the use of grey pigment.

I do not think the painting can be described as true fresco. Abrasions show that it is quite upon the plaster surface, and that there is no penetration. Nor could I trace the joints in the plaster suggested by Mr. Johnston as being marks of work executed day by day. There are undoubted joints in the plaster, but these are due to repair with repainting over it. There is clear evidence that the painted plaster passed beneath the repairs, of which the plaster composition, and therefore the surface, varies from that of the original. The edge of the repairs has been smoothed off with a rough convex instrument.

The paintings undoubtedly are of very considerable interest, but it is very difficult to decipher the subjects. Beneath a canopy, supported by towers, there is a possible representation of the Annunciation, and it seemed possible also to trace the figure of our Lord holding a Tau Cross emerging from a cave, but this is doubtful and capable of other interpretation. A tree with animals, which I take to be sheep, is also decipherable.

The double-splayed window may be of Saxon date or of the first ten or fifteen years after the Conquest.

There seems some evidence that the paintings were done before the insertion of the Norman doorway.

THURSDAY, 7th JUNE 1917.

Lt.-Colonel GEORGE BABINGTON CROFT LYONS,
Vice-President, in the Chair.

The following gifts were announced, and thanks for the same ordered to be returned to the donors:

From Ralph Griffin, Esq., F.S.A. :—
1. A tour through the Isle of Thanet, and some other parts of East Kent. By Zachariah Cozens. 4to. London, 1793.
2. Monumental brasses in Kent. St. James (old church), Dover, and Northfleet. By Ralph Griffin. 8vo. London, 1916.

From the Author :—Portraits of our Stuart monarchs on their coins and medals. Part vii and index. By Helen Farquhar. 4to. London, 1916.

From J. Challenor C. Smith, Esq., F.S.A. :—Pedigree of Sir Nigel Loring, K.G., and Hylle of Spaxton. By B. W. Greenfield. Privately printed. 8vo. n. p. 1883.

The Rev. F. J. Eld, F.S.A., and Ralph Griffin, Esq., F.S.A., exhibited some fragments of stained glass (see illustration).

This being an evening appointed for the election of Fellows no papers were read.

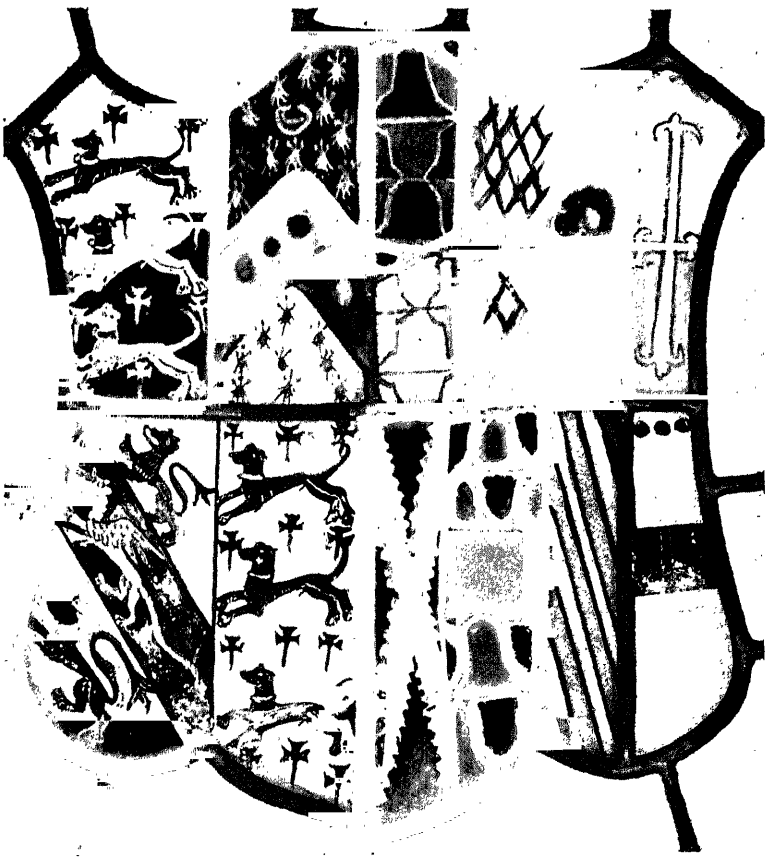
The ballot opened at 8.45 p.m. and closed at 9.30 p.m., when the following were declared duly elected Fellows of the Society:

Rev. Claude Jenkins, M.A.
Ven. William Cunningham, D.D., F.B.A.
Percy Walter Lewis Adams, Esq.
Stephen Gaselee, Esq., M.A.
Frederick Arthur Harman Oates, Esq.
Albert Victor Peatling, Esq., M.B., B.C
Henry de Vere, Lord Barnard.

As an Honorary Fellow:

M. Antoine Héron de Villefosse.

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PANEL OF STAINED GLASS WITH ARMS OF SMYTH IMPALING AN UNIDENTIFIED COAT

THURSDAY, 14th JUNE 1917.

Sir ARTHUR JOHN EVANS, Knt., D.Litt., F.R.S., President, in the Chair.

The following gifts were announced, and thanks for the same ordered to be returned to the donors:

From the Author:—Forerunners and rivals of Christianity. By F. Legge. 2 vols. 8vo. Cambridge, 1915.

From Richard Bentley, Esq., F.S.A.:—
1. Historical records of the 91st Argyllshire Highlanders. Arranged by G. L. Goff. 8vo. London, 1891.
2. History of the fifty-seventh (West Middlesex) regiment of foot, 1755-1881. By H. H. Woollright. 8vo. London, 1893.

From Messrs. E. Neil Baynes and W. J. Hemp:—Pedigrees of Anglesey and Carnarvonshire families. Compiled by J. E. Griffith. fol. Horncastle, 1914.

From C. R. Peers, Esq., Secretary:—
1. Official guide to St. Botolph's Priory, Colchester. 8vo. London, 1917.
2. Official guide to Carnarvon Castle. 8vo. London, 1917. Issued by the Department of Ancient Monuments and Historic Buildings.

From the Rev. F. J. Eld, F.S.A.:—A panel of stained glass with the arms of Smyth and quarterings impaling an unascertained coat with quarterings: and another panel with a crowned leopard.

Special thanks were returned to Mr. Eld for his gifts to the Society's collections.

GEORGE MACDONALD, Esq., C.B., LL.D., a Local Secretary for Scotland, read a paper on General William Roy and his *Military Antiquities of North Britain*, which will be published in *Archaeologia*.

Professor OMAN was glad to make the acquaintance of General Roy as a man, apart from his published work; and he was filled with admiration for the exploring energy displayed in scouring the country on a pony in the uncertain weather of the North at such an early period.

The PRESIDENT felt that the meeting would be specially grateful to Dr. Macdonald for coming such a distance to illustrate the monumental work produced long ago by the Society. It was now possible to appreciate more fully the services rendered to British archaeology by General Roy; and the

author had, as usual, made his communication lucid, accurate, and complete. Some present might have looked for the author's commentary on some of the debatable points, such as the identification of Trimontium, but there was no doubt that the camps dealt with in the paper were of Roman origin. If the earlier or later invasion had succeeded, the whole of Scotland might have become a Roman province. An intensive Roman occupation of four centuries would have resulted in such a large measure of Romanization, that the Teutonic invaders would not have found allies in the Celtic population, and much of Britain would have remained as Romanized as Gaul.

Dr. MACDONALD replied that any one familiar with the district would have little doubt as to the identity of Trimontium and the Eildon Hills. Another problem was the route taken by Agricola, some of whose troops, at any rate, crossed the border on the eastern side.

W. H. QUARRELL, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., exhibited a silver gilt chalice of about the date 1775 from Wulverghem, Flanders. The chalice was much damaged in the bombardment of the village, but had been skilfully repaired and would be returned to the church after the war. It was inscribed: IAC FRANC LECOQ_COM D HVMBECQ_VETOR DE WVLVERGEM DONO DEDIT ET PIIS SACRIFICIIS SE COMMENDAT:2.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for this communication and exhibition.

THURSDAY, 21st JUNE 1917.

Sir ARTHUR JOHN EVANS, Knt., D.Litt., F.R.S., President, in the Chair.

The following gifts were announced, and thanks for the same ordered to be returned to the donors:

From Robert Bagster, Esq., F.S.A.:—General index to the Journal of the British Archaeological Association, vols. xliii to lii, 1887–1896. 8vo. London, 1915.

From C. O. Skilbeck, Esq., F.S.A.:—Foreningen til Norske Fortidsmindesmærkers Bevaring: i. Aarsberetning. 1908–16. 8vo. Christiania:
and ii. Fortegnelse over vore bevarede mindesmærker fra den Kristne middelalder. 8vo. Christiania, 1910.

From Thackeray Turner, Esq., F.S.A. :—Del modo tenuto nel trasportare l'obelisco vaticano e delle fatte da nostro signore Sisto V : Libro primo : by Domenico Fontana : fo. Rome, 1589.

The following were admitted Fellows :

The Ven. Archdeacon William Cunningham, D.D., F.B.A.
The Rev. Claude Jenkins, M.A.
Frederick Arthur Harman Oates, Esq.

Reginald Smith, Esq., F.S.A., read a paper on Roman roads and the distribution of Saxon churches in London, which will be printed in *Archaeologia*.

The centuries immediately following the Roman period in Britain were confessedly obscure, but the distribution of Saxon churches in and near London suggested that the main Roman roads were still practicable. The paper was based on the author's contribution to the *Victoria History of London*; on a lecture to the Royal Society of Arts dealing with the Roman roads of London (*Journal*, 16th December 1910); and on the list of Saxon foundations in Mr. Lethaby's *London before the Conquest*. Most of the churches conformed to the lines suggested, and two supported the old view of a Roman road across Hampstead Heath. There was also evidence of another Roman road from Holborn across the Lea in the direction of Great Dunmow.

Mr. Lethaby found the subject so complicated that it was difficult to make any useful comment without a close study of the maps. Many new and valuable points had been brought out in the paper, but he confessed to some scepticism as to the main lines adopted, which seemed to suffer from imaginative geometry. Whether to produce a line in any particular direction must be to a large extent guesswork, and he did not think the system as a whole would survive criticism. In his own opinion the first London Bridge was not so near the Tower, but rather on the site of Old London Bridge. Another problem was the possibility of a crossing at Tilbury Ferry, which was well known in the middle ages and might have survived from Roman times. Such a crossing would clear up the Peutingerian table, which showed a road to Chelmsford and left out London.

Mr. W. H. Fox inquired if the present 'Roman road' at Bethnal Green was identical with that suggested from Holborn to Old Ford.

Mr. C. L. Kingsford said the choice between Cripplegate and Aldgate for the passage of St. Edmund's body was not a matter of legend, but of manuscript evidence, which was in favour of Aldgate. Cripplegate was substituted in some accounts simply on account of a false derivation of the name, and was chosen because the saint was supposed to have healed cripples there. The main gates were Aldgate, Bishopsgate, Aldersgate and Newgate (Chamberlain's Gate), and their names had all been traced to persons connected with them. The four main roads went out by the four main gates, and the four minor gates were Ludgate (Lydgate), Cripplegate, Moorgate, and the Tower postern.

Mr. Hopwood maintained that everything pointed to a Thames crossing just below the present bridge, not where the Custom House stood. The road would go north by Philpot Lane and Lime Street, which showed that some addition must be made to the road-system of London suggested in the paper, not to mention the ferry at Dowgate.

Mr. Curtis inquired whether the author could point to the road that led to the mysterious Roman station of Noviomagus.

The President drew attention to one section of a complicated paper—the Roman roads converging on London, and suggested comparison with other great cities. The streets of Turin, for example, curiously followed the Roman plan, whereas at Trèves there was a break of continuity after the sixth century, though many Roman monuments and early churches survived. In the latter city all the main arteries ran straight across the Roman lines from the bridge to the Black Gate (*Porta Nigra*), and it was clear that the Franks cut through a ruined city. The paper lay between those two alternatives. Outside the walls there was a fair run for the Roman roads; but even if the city streets had been as straight as a ruler, any churches belonging to a city lying above them would be bound to adjoin one or other of the Roman lines. The Society would be grateful for the new matter introduced, and every one would be glad if the Saxon roads could be proved identical with those of the Roman city. In any case, the author deserved the best thanks of the meeting for his paper and exhibits.

Mr. Reginald Smith replied that the Tilbury crossing may well have been adopted by the Romans and served by roads leading north through Essex, but that could not be the ford mentioned by Dio Cassius. Old London Bridge was in a line with Gracechurch Street, but it was clear that the Ermine Street

did not coincide with that line, which was blocked by Roman works and buildings. The present 'Roman road' at Old Ford was no doubt in memory (and roughly on the line) of the old highway between Holborn and the ford, but that part of London was only built between 1860 and 1890. He could not undertake to decide whether Ealsegate was Aldgate or Cripplegate, but had mentioned the journey of St. Edmund's remains as an interesting side-issue: Greenstead, where a halt was made on the way back, was certainly on the presumed Roman road to Bury. It would be rash to suppose that the Saxons retained all the Roman gates: Ludgate, for example, seemed to have been a Roman gate, confirmed by the burials there, but might have been blocked up for defence in Saxon times. True, there was a Stoney Street opposite Dowgate, but there was also a Stoney Lane between Tooley Street and the river, still further east than the line suggested for the Roman crossing, and he thought the name corresponded to Stangate opposite Westminster. Noviomagus had not been mentioned in the paper, as its identity was still uncertain; a recently defunct society, founded for the purpose of finding the site, had left no clue to the mystery. In his opinion the main Roman roads were used by the Saxons in London, while the side streets were probably obliterated by the refuse of buildings; but it was not surprising that the encroachments and reconstructions since the Norman Conquest had rendered the Roman lines no longer recognizable on the surface.

W. C. Pavyer, Esq., exhibited the bronze matrix of a seal found near Oxford.

It was vesica-shaped, $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $\frac{15}{16}$ in., and represented a man-headed bird to the right, with a star in the field behind. The legend appeared to read: + S' GVILLIRI · L' DE BAMME, but some of the letters were very doubtful.

Mr. Pavyer also exhibited half of a stone mould used for making false ducatoons. The half exhibited was for the obverse, showing a demi-man in armour holding a shield with the lion of Brabant and the inscription MO · ARG · PRO · CONFOE · BEL · FR · The workmanship was very rude but bore a colourable resemblance to the real coin.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for this communication and exhibition.

THURSDAY, 28th JUNE 1917.

Lt.-Colonel GEORGE BABINGTON CROFT LYONS, Vice-President, in the Chair.

The following gifts were announced, and thanks for the same ordered to be returned to the donors:

From Walter Derham, Esq. :—The twelve churches; or tracings along the Watling Street. 8vo. London, 1860.

From Dr. B. Daydon Jackson, F.L.S.: Libellus de re herbaria novus, by William Turner, originally published in 1538. Reprinted and edited with notes by B. Daydon Jackson. Privately printed. 4to. London, 1877.

From Mrs. Charles E. Lovell:—Twelve rubbings of monumental brasses and slabs.

Stephen Gaselee, Esq., M.A., was admitted a Fellow.

The Report of the Library Committee was laid on the table (see pp. 224–232).

CAMPBELL DODGSON, Esq., M.A., exhibited an English book of ornamental engravings of the year 1548; on which he read the following note:

The little book which is exhibited this evening is a document of considerable importance for the early history of engraving in England, being the second dated example of line-engraving produced in this country, or the third, if we include the insignificant illustrations, copied on copper from the original German woodcuts, in T. Raynald's *Byrth of Mankynde*, 1540. That humble forerunner was followed in 1545 by the handsome folio title-page, engraved on copper, of the *Compendiosa totius Anatomie delineatio, aere exarata: per Thomam Geminum, Londini.* The royal arms form the central feature of an elaborate architectural and emblematical design, being flanked by standing figures of Justice and Prudence, and surmounted by Victory, enthroned in a niche.[1] A second edition of this work, in English, published in 1553, was followed by a third, also in English, in 1559, in which the engraved title-page appears in a second state, a portrait of Queen Elizabeth being substituted for the royal arms as the central feature of the design. This, and another, quite independent, portrait of Queen Elizabeth by

[1] The title-page is reproduced in facsimile as Plate 1 of Sir Sidney Colvin's *Early Engraving and Engravers in England*, 1905, in which work all that is hitherto known about Thomas Geminus will be found (pp. 11–18).

Geminus, of which the only known impression is in the library at Eton College,[1] are much later than the newly-discovered work of the same engraver which forms the subject of this paper.

In March 1914 Dr. Max Geisberg, the learned director of the Landesmuseum der Provinz Westfalen at Münster, and one of the foremost authorities on early engraving, sent to the Print Room of the British Museum a shabby little volume of ornament prints, worn by centuries of use at the bench, and thumbed by many generations of unwashed artificers, which he had recently acquired for his museum from a firm of working goldsmiths in Westphalia, in whose possession it had been for a very long time. Recognizing the interest that the central portion of this volume must possess for the British national collection of engravings, Dr. Geisberg kindly proposed, with the approval of the committee responsible for the management of the Landesmuseum, to cede it to the British Museum upon terms which formed the subject of friendly negotiations conducted during the summer. These had just reached a shape sufficiently mature for a proposal to be held in readiness for the consideration of the Trustees of the British Museum after the summer recess, when war broke out, and the whole transaction is accordingly suspended.

The little oblong volume, measuring 3 by 5 in., and nearly an inch thick, has lost its front cover of leather and is very defective at the beginning. Its contents consist of several series of small engravings. First come an imperfect set, thirty-six in number (nos. 20–26, 29–34, 37–59), of small subjects from the Gospels (1½ by 2¼ in.), engraved after Pieter van der Borcht by the engraver with the monogram H. S. D.; then a still more fragmentary set of etchings of Gospel subjects, two on one plate, by Virgil Solis (3⅛ by 2 in.), eighteen in number (nos. 2, 3, 6–7, 10–12, 14–20, 22, 23, 25, and 27 of the series); then the set of ornaments engraved by Thomas Geminus, the earliest portion of the volume; and lastly thirteen plates belonging to a German series of deeply-etched arabesque ornaments for the decoration of various metal objects, signed with the initials G. G., some of which, in other collections, are dated 1550.

All these engravings are arranged in pairs facing one another, so that, as the leaves are turned over, each pair of engravings is followed by a pair of blank pages. This method of arrangement shows that one leaf of the book of ornaments by Thomas Geminus has been lost, a fragment of the torn margin of the missing leaf being still *in situ*, after the tenth leaf. The set now consists of title-page and twenty-eight leaves of orna-

[1] Colvin, p. 17.

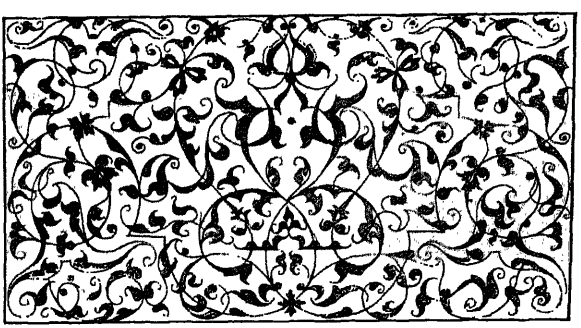
ment, so arranged that the title-page and first ornamental design each occupy the recto of a leaf, and are followed by fourteen pairs of leaves (the fifth incomplete) arranged in the manner already described. The total number of leaves, unless any are missing at the end, of which there is no sign, would thus have been thirty.

The title-page, measuring $2\frac{1}{2}$ by $3\frac{1}{4}$ in., is decorated with strap-work ingeniously combined with clusters of fruit and leaves. In the upper portion of the design are the title (in Latin) and arms of Edward VI, followed by the words *Viuat Rex*, and the English title *Moryſse and Damaſhin renewed and encreaſed/Very profitable for Goldsmythes and Embroderars/by Thomas Geminus at London Anno. 1548.* This is, at present, the only known specimen of English engraving of the reign of Edward VI (fig. 1). The plates of ornamental designs measure $1\frac{15}{16}$ by $3\frac{3}{8}$ in., and the actual ornament is in every case circumscribed by an engraved border-line further reducing the field to $1\frac{5}{8}$ by 3 in. The ornaments consist of arabesque designs, intricate in invention and very delicately executed, in black—not a dead black, but a dark surface produced by close parallel hatchings—upon a white ground (fig. 2). They are of many shapes, sometimes forming complete symmetrical panels, sometimes supplying separate motives on a small scale to be combined according to the will of the goldsmith or embroiderer to whom they are intended to be profitable. Some of the smallest ornaments are evidently meant for the decoration of rings; others resemble the bands of arabesque decoration sometimes found upon Elizabethan chalices. The execution of these ornamental plates is so much more delicate and highly finished than that of the signed title-page that the question arises whether they are actually the work of Geminus himself. The words 'renewed and encreased' in the title suggest a further question, whether there had not been an earlier edition of this collection of 'Morysse' (Moresque) designs. But neither of these questions can be answered with certainty.

This discovery enriches the *œuvre*, but adds nothing to the biography, of Thomas Geminus Lysiensis the Fleming, surgeon, engraver, printer, and instrument-maker at Blackfriars, who disappears from history after drawing the map of Spain in 1570 for the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* of Ortelius.

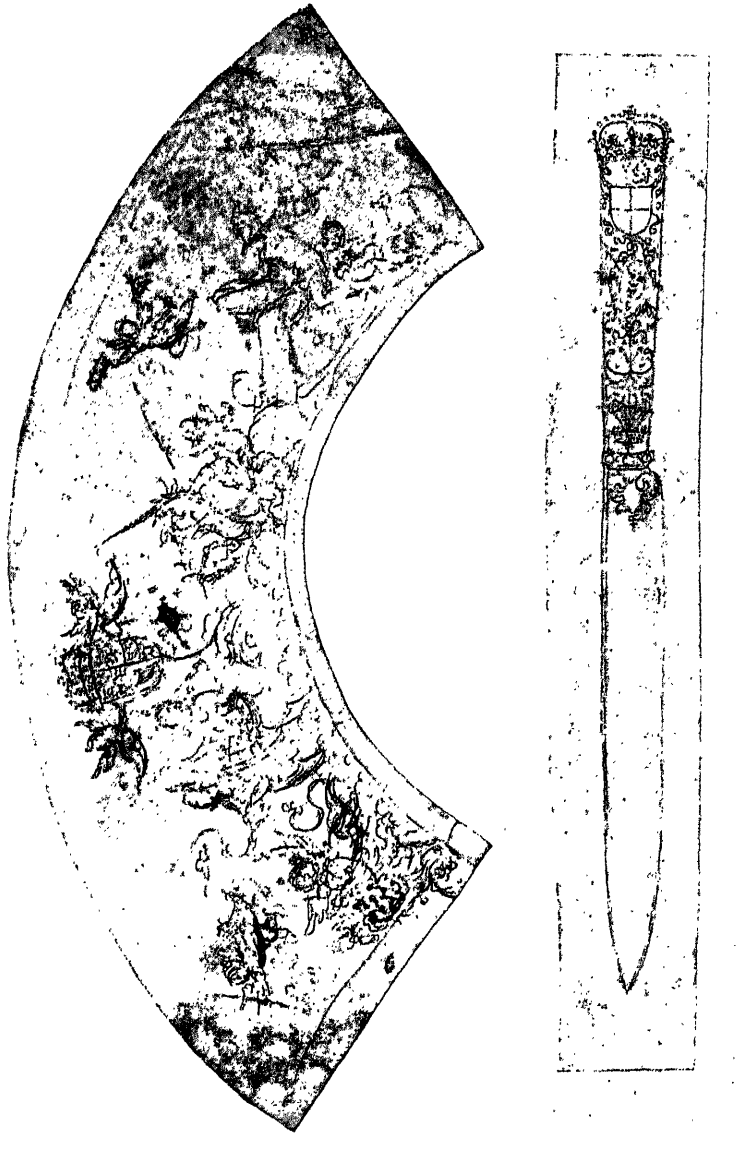
Another collection of drawings and engravings of goldsmiths' ornament, which is no longer intact (a large portion of its contents having been acquired by the British Museum from Mr. E. Peter Jones, of Chester), deserves some record and commemoration for its connexion, obscure though it be, with English history. This was a small folio volume in old calf, which had been bound





Figs. 1 and 2. TITLE-PAGE AND ORNAMENT FROM AN ENGLISH BOOK OF ORNAMENTAL ENGRAVINGS, 1548

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Figs. 3 and 4. ORIGINAL DRAWINGS, TEMP. JAMES I, FOR DECORATION OF A SALVER AND A KNIFE

after 1618, that date, written upon one of the leaves, having been cropped in binding. It contained a large number of engravings by Flemish and German engravers of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, such as Hans Collaert, Daniel Mignot, Paul Flindt (copies), Paul Birckenhultz, Bernhard Zan, and the rare engraver Guillaume de La Quewellerie, of Amsterdam. The most interesting feature, however, of the collection, which like that described above had evidently been formed for use in a workshop, was a score or so of original drawings of ornamental subjects by several different hands, apparently Flemish or German, which appear to have been produced in England during the reign of James I. Three of these, all by the same hand, were evidently done for a royal patron. They are free and sketchy drawings, done by a very skilful hand using a fine pen and ink. The first, a design for part of the decoration of a salver, represents a sea-god driving a chariot to which are harnessed two horses and a unicorn, preceded by naiads playing the harp and a kind of trumpet in serpent shape. Various amorini brandish sword and censer, helmet and laurel wreath, and act as supporters to the royal arms of England, while another rides on the back of a lion, which heads the whole procession, and holds its bridle (*fig.* 3). A second drawing in the same style, but of smaller size, repeats the two naiad-musicians of the first, set in a frame of graceful ornament. The third drawing is a complete design for a knife with richly decorated handle, the ornaments on which include the royal crown and the Prince of Wales's feathers encircled by a coronet (fig. 4). This must refer to a set of knives designed either for Henry, Prince of Wales, or for his brother Charles, who succeeded him in that title in 1612. The remaining drawings, some of which are signed, are by several hands and include designs for cups, ewers, dishes, and sconces, with emblematic female figures (Justice, Fortune, etc.) and heraldic designs. One of the sheets of sketches contains a small ground plan and elevation of part of a building, and among other things, a finished pencil drawing of the arms of Thomas Cecil, first earl of Exeter, surrounded by the Garter, and with angels on clouds, playing violin and harp, as supporters. On the other side of the sheet are some sketches for open woodwork and finials, as if for the top of a Jacobean screen. Some connexion with Burleigh House may be conjectured in this case.

The CHAIRMAN expressed the indebtedness of the Society to Mr. Dodgson for a sight of the book, which had a special interest for Englishmen on account of its dedication. The designs themselves were decidedly Flemish and German in technique; and, by the kindness of a Fellow, comparison was possible with

a similar work of a different school but of the same date. He hoped the efforts made to secure the exhibit for the British Museum would be successful, as native work of that date was poorly represented, early engravers having been very few and mostly of foreign origin. He had himself acquired a similar knife to that shown on the screen, with a crown above, but of latten, with a lion sejant.

Sir Hercules Read agreed that English ornamental engravings of that kind and date were of exceptional rarity, and understood Mr. Dodgson's anxiety to secure signed specimens for his department. The title of the book served to explain two common technical terms. The designs recalled that peculiar leaf ornament only seen at the Alhambra in Spain, hence the common-place term arabesque for surface ornament in the Arab style. It was commonly found in a band round communion-cups about 1560–90, usually in the eastern counties, showing a connexion with the Continent: there was a continuity of artistic tradition from Flanders to the east coast reaching down to the end of the seventeenth century.

H. Clifford Smith, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., exhibited an oak carving representing the Holy Trinity, dated 1553, on which he read the following note (see illustration):

The carving here shown is the property of Mr. E. Peter Jones, who has kindly permitted me to exhibit it. It was acquired by him recently from a dealer in Manchester.

The image of the Holy Trinity carved in relief is fashioned as a mural tablet and furnished with rings for suspension. The figures which comprise the group are arranged in the manner that was common from about the twelfth century onwards. The Almighty, a dignified, ancient man with long hair and beard, is seated on a low throne. He wears an arched crown of gold and a gold cope or mantle lined with red and fastened at the breast with a lozenge-shaped brooch. The figure is 12 in. high. The uprights of the back of the throne terminate with large ringed knobs of gold, and the cresting between is formed of a band of leaves of Gothic design.

The Father supports with his hands the transverse beam of the cross with the Crucified Son, the upright beam of which passes between His knees in front of the panel to a projection on the base on which it rests. The latter figure retains traces of its original white paint touched here and there with red; the loin-cloth is of gold. The Holy Spirit as a dove hovers above the head of the Father; it is white, with legs and beak in red. The crown worn by the Almighty is, it is to be noted, not the

triple tiara, but the arched or 'close' crown—the type of crown worn by the English Tudor sovereigns.



OAK CARVING REPRESENTING THE HOLY TRINITY, DATED 1553.

The framework in which the carving is enclosed is in the shape of a broad, shallow niche or tabernacle of classical design. The

outside measurements are: height, 1 ft. 10 in.; width, 1 ft. 4 in.; depth, 3½ in. It is of architectural construction, flanked by pilasters having channel mouldings, the plinth and frieze ornamented with flutings or triglyphs, and the whole surmounted by a pediment carved with a dentil moulding. Below the group and divided by the upright of the cross is the date 1553 in raised figures on a sunk panel. The old iron rings by which the tablet was hung are affixed to the outer edge on either side.

The framework, like the figures, has the remains of the original colours, red, blue, etc., parts of the mouldings, as well as the date, being picked out in gold. The whole surface has been covered at a later date with a coating of grey paint; where this has been removed carefully the original gilding and some of the colour beneath it have been found almost intact; but the greater part has been roughly scraped and most of the old colour has disappeared.

Comparing this relief with the earlier 'Trinity' subjects in English alabaster, certain minor differences are apparent. In the alabasters at the British Museum and South Kensington the hands of the Almighty, instead of supporting the cross, are raised. On one of the two tables and on the group at South Kensington the hands hold a napkin containing souls; while both the tables include figures of ministering angels. In the group at the British Museum the dove rests on the top of the cross.

There is no ostensible reason otherwise for assuming a non-English origin for the work. It was obviously executed under Flemish influence; but it was 'the Flemish', as Mr. Prior remarks,[1] 'rather than the Italian feeling which gives a touch of freshness to some of the last effigies of English Gothic style'. The carving rises, it is true, above the usual level of Tudor figure work, which is commonly coarse in execution; yet parallels of nearly the same date can be found elsewhere, notably in the wooden statuettes of the screen of the Lady Chapel at Manchester.

English sculpture remained medieval long after the Renaissance style had been accepted elsewhere; but in spite of its setting the composition here is purely medieval in feeling. There is a serenity and simplicity in the character of the figures, and none of that exaggeration of gesture and expression that one finds in the Flemish, and especially in the German work of this date. The old and the new styles, the Gothic and Renaissance, mingle in a curious manner in the decoration of the throne:

[1] *Mediaeval Figure-Sculpture in England*, p. 717.

the ball finials of the back are an Italian detail;[1] the cresting between is Gothic, as are the mouldings of the supports below.

The war waged by the Reformers and the Puritans on 'superstitious' images, which resulted in the destruction of so much medieval sculpture in this country, was particularly disastrous to sculpture in wood, and scarcely any has come down to us. Taken as an example of English work this relief is therefore of peculiar interest and rarity—all the more so seeing that images representing the doctrine of the Trinity were looked upon with especial abhorrence by the Reformers.

The fact that it is dated adds considerably to its value from the documentary point of view. 1553 was the first year of Mary's reign; but this does not necessarily imply that the carving was the result of the Marian reaction, for Edward, it may be remembered, did not die until July 7th of that year. Its preservation in Lancashire, where there is reason to suppose it was made, may be accounted for by the fact that that part of England retained many adherents to the old faith; and the wave of continental protestantism of the more extreme type which affected the south of England in Edward's reign was unfelt in wide districts of the north and west. It is to be noted, furthermore, that wood-carving in the Gothic style continued to be carried out in these parts of the country long after it had come to an end elsewhere—the most striking example of survival being the woodwork at Cartmel, which was not actually executed until 1620.

The owner has generously announced his intention of presenting the carving to the Victoria and Albert Museum.

The CHAIRMAN could not agree as to the English origin of the panel, and thought it showed strong Flemish influence, especially in the grouping and the crown and beard of the chief figure; nor was the figure of Christ English in feeling. However, it was genuine all through and a desirable acquisition for the Victoria and Albert Museum. It was exceptional to find so much of the original colouring; but the architectural frame was not in the style of the alabasters, which, moreover, showed the dove descending, not soaring as in the present case. The figures giving the date seemed to him more foreign than English, as shown in Mr. G. F. Hill's book on Arabic numerals. Thanks were due to Mr. Clifford Smith and the owner for the exhibit.

[1] The X-shaped chair of this date in York Minster is furnished with metal knobs originally gilt.

W. L. Hildburgh, Esq., F.S.A., exhibited some small jet carvings produced at Santiago de Compostela, on which he communicated the following note:

A few months since, Señor G. J. de Osma, one of the Honorary Fellows of this Society, published his long-promised book dealing with the carvings in jet produced at Santiago de Compostela, in north-western Spain, during a period extending from at least the end of the fourteenth century up to the present day. As Señor de Osma has presented a copy of his book to the Society, I have thought that an informal exhibition of some specimens—though they are all of the minor objects—of the class of work with which the book deals might be of interest to the Society. The objects on the table have, with a very few exceptions, been gathered together because they have been originally intended, or at some time adapted, for employment as amulets, rather than for the purpose of illustrating the treatment of their material, from either a technological or a historical standpoint. The work of the jet carvers of Santiago was sometimes of very considerable size, as those who may have seen the illustrations in Señor de Osma's book will recall. Of the objects shown by him, and now in the collection of the Instituto de Valencia de Don Juan, one is an elaborate figure of St. James the Great, about 15 in. (38 centimetres) in height, while another measures about 12½ in. (32 centimetres), and several others of those figured are of large size. The British Museum possesses some figures of this kind, and there are many others in public and in private collections. Images of smaller size were made as well as the large ones just referred to—the objects on the table include a very small image, mounted as a badge, and the upper part of a slightly larger figure.

Such figures of St. James were one of the specialities of the jet carvers, who sold them to the pilgrims who for centuries flocked in their thousands to the great shrine of the saint at Compostela. As that of the patron saint of Spain the shrine naturally attracted great numbers of Spaniards, but pilgrims came to it also from many other parts of Europe, who carried back with them as souvenirs or as devotional objects the figures, the amulets, and the other things made of Spanish jet, which are still to be found in districts remote from that of Santiago de Compostela. The industry must have been one of very considerable magnitude, for the inventories of the stocks of some of the dealers in jet objects at Santiago in the sixteenth century, quoted by Señor de Osma, include somewhat surprising quantities of the various things made at that time from the material.

Figures of other saints were made as well as those of St. James, but naturally in lesser quantities than those of the saint, a visit

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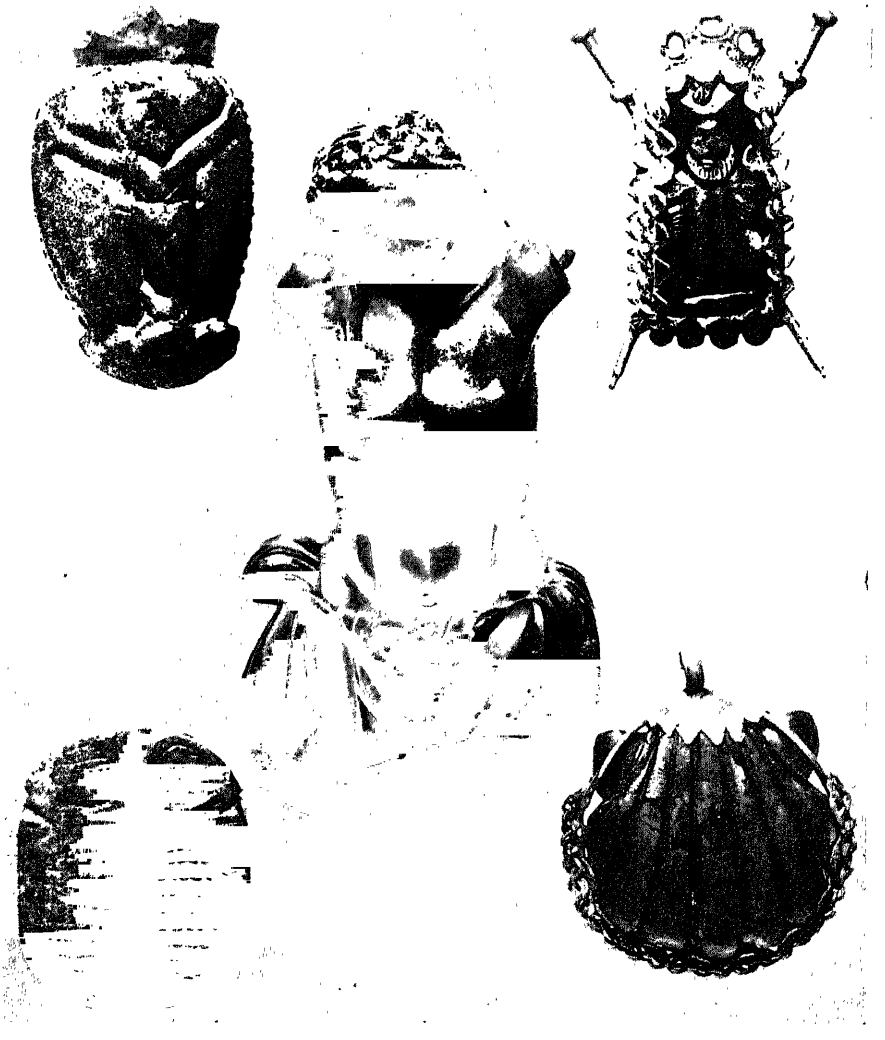


Fig. 1. JET FIGURE OF CHRIST, PILGRIM BADGES, ETC., FROM SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

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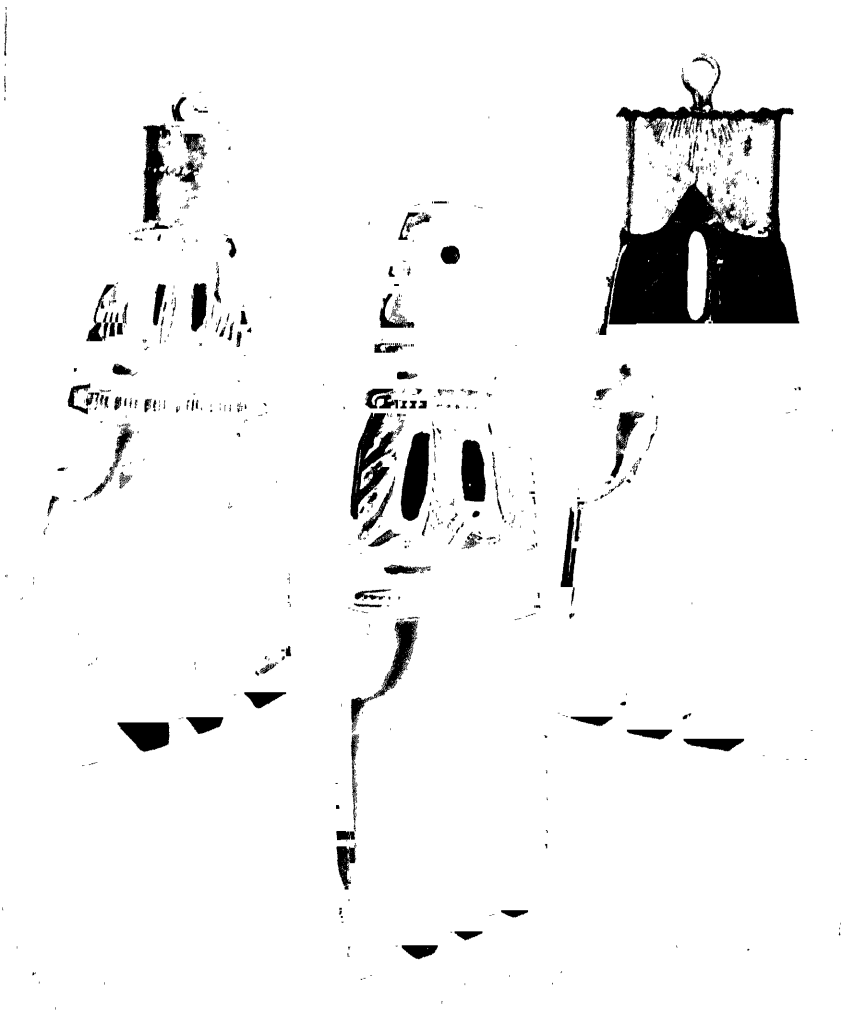


Fig. 2. JET HAND-AMULETS, FROM SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

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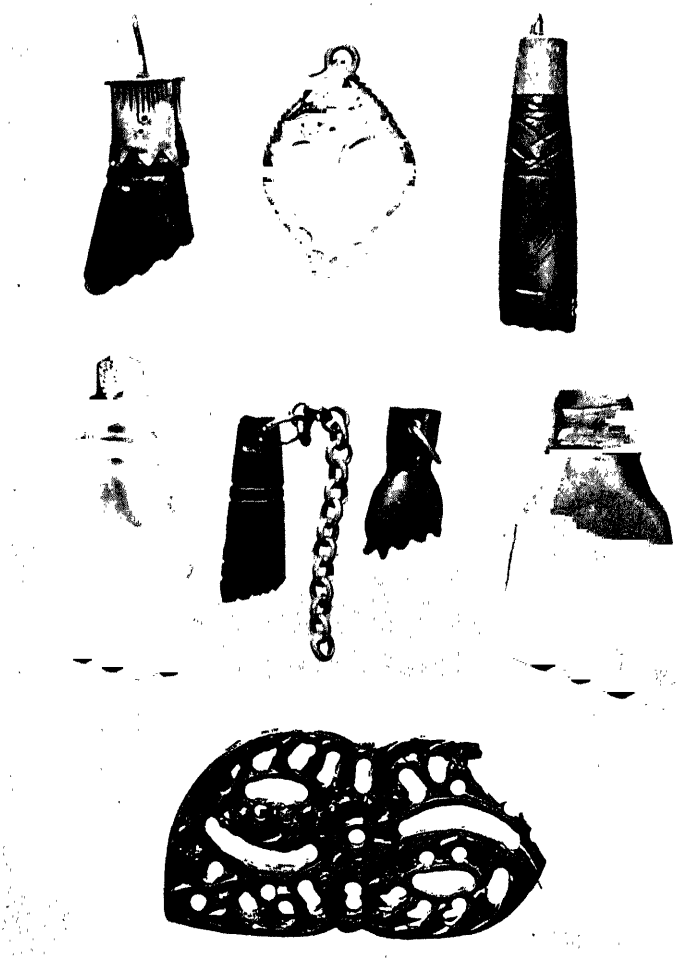


Fig. 3. JET HAND-AMULETS, ETC., AND PART OF A NECKLACE, FROM SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

to whose shrine was the principal object of the buyers' pilgrimages. A mutilated figure of Christ, made for attachment to a cross, lies upon the table (fig. 1); the arms, now missing, have been attached to the shoulders by iron pins or pieces of wire, the joints being perhaps articulated like those of a similar figure (no. 27) shown by Señor de Osma. On the table is shown, also, a fragment of a statuette representing St. Veronica. Figures of various other favourite saints are referred to by Señor de Osma.

Jet has long been regarded as a substance intrinsically possessed of magical properties of one kind or another. During the period in which the specimens on exhibition were made the principal magical virtue popularly attributed to it in Spain was that of counteracting the effect of, and preventing injury from, the glance of an 'evil eye'—a virtue with which it is still popularly credited and one to which is no doubt due the employment of the modern jet amulets, such as those of which a few examples are shown on the table. An Arab doctor who lived in Spain at the end of the eleventh century records the attribution of this particular virtue to jet in Spain, and I think that we need have but little doubt that the belief in the value of it for the purpose was old there at that time. What the original reason for the attribution was, one may hardly expect to know, but we may observe that jet is a substance eminently fitted for service against an 'evil eye' in that it is brilliant enough to attract the evil-working glance to itself; fragile enough to support the belief—like that concerning other substances in other parts of the world—that it will, breaking, take upon itself an injury from which its bearer is thereby protected; and black, a colour to which such Eastern peoples as the Indians and the Sinhalese ascribe especial virtues against an 'evil eye'.

The jet amulets were intended principally for wear by infants, and they often took the form of a hand making a certain gesture—with the thumb protruding from between the index and middle fingers of the closed fist—which was itself regarded as highly preservative against fascination (figs. 2 and 3). Amulets in the form of hands making this gesture were in use long before the Christian era, descending from Roman civilization; made of almost any material capable of being shaped, they are in common use to-day in many parts of Europe. In Spain these jet hands took not only a naturalistic form—their popularity was such that their forms developed in two diametrically opposed directions. In one direction the forms became simpler, and so conventionalized that the amulet became little more than a bar of jet with four notches, representing the divisions between the fingers, across the lower end. In the other direction they became highly elaborated, as may be observed in a number of the

specimens shown on the table, a human-faced crescent—itself regarded as preservative against 'evil eye'—or a heart, or the letter M, or other symbols being worked into the design of the closed side of the hand, while often beyond the wrist the jet was continued in the form of columns—sometimes in the form of open hands, serving as further protections—or of some saint.

Other jet amulets were made in the form of simple beads, sometimes mounted in silver, like the two examples—one of very unusual size—shown on the table. Others were made in the shape of a conventionalized heart, a form often used for amuletic objects. The specimen in the form of a pecten shell (fig. 1), originally one of the objects brought by pilgrims from Santiago, and worn by them as a badge, which became an emblem of St. James, was not improbably intended for use as an amulet; sometimes jet objects having this form, a favourite one, were ornamented with figures in relief upon their surface.

Other things for which jet was much used were rosaries and necklaces. A rosary bead in the form of a human skull lies upon the table, and there is also a pendant, probably from a rosary, having on one side Christ upon the Cross, above a skull, and on the other a human head, in profile, above a cherub. Two pieces from a necklace are also shown, one of an elaborate openwork design (fig. 3), the other a flat piece having a cross on one face and a design which seems to be heraldic on the other (fig. 1).

The Chairman had always been interested in jet amulets since his attention was first called to them in Spain at the Centenary Exhibition of Columbus, which included a small bust of Henry VIII. Two others were in the British Museum, and he had seen another representing one of that monarch's wives, but those were the only examples of similar English jetwork known to him. Those on exhibition were chiefly talismans, many representing the closed hand with the thumb between the index and second finger. The type was found also in the south of France and the Pyrenees, and he himself exhibited three specimens, one being the end bead of a rosary. He also exhibited a pax (fig. 4), and a figure of our Lady (fig. 5). The subject was worthy of further investigation and there was some likely material in Taunton Museum. The jet carvings were used like the leaden pilgrim-signs at Canterbury, and nearly all had the emblems of St. James, the wallet and pilgrim's staff, and sometimes a cockle-shell.

Sir Hercules Read said that a paper of that kind raised a number of independent issues. It was fortunate for anti-

quaries that the medieval pilgrims procured tokens at the shrines only to lose them on the way home: to that was due a vast quantity of minor works of art dating from a period when objects in relief were far from common. Again, jet was a curious material, easy to carve, and its brilliance made it specially

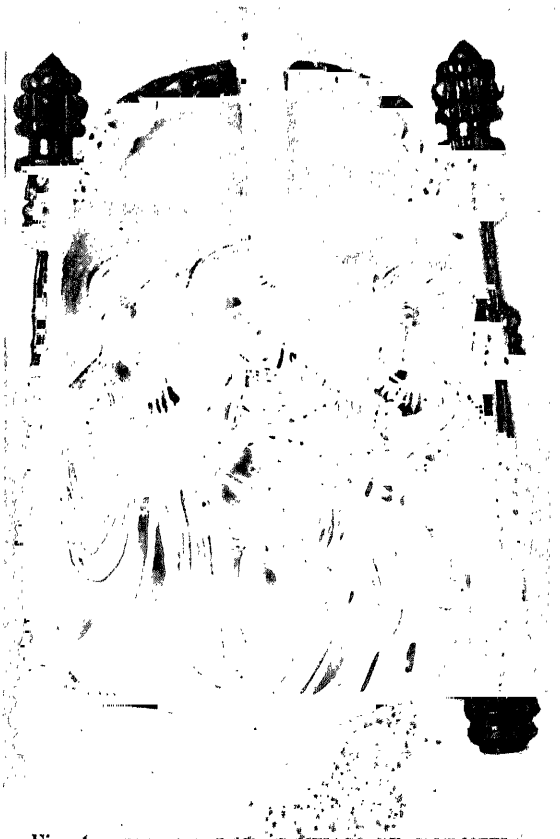


Fig. 4. JET PAX, FROM SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA.

attractive to primitive peoples. At an early period in Britain it was used for buttons and other ornaments, frequently found in tumuli of the Bronze Age, the raw material coming from Whitby. In medieval times it had certain funereal associations; and the Spaniards, having a special liking for sombre colours and garments, made much use of it from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century. First the hand and then the material

in which the hand was carved were regarded as efficacious against the evil eye, a development commonly met with in anthropology. In the pax exhibited by the Chairman, the carver had had regard to the nature of the material. Such exhibitions had

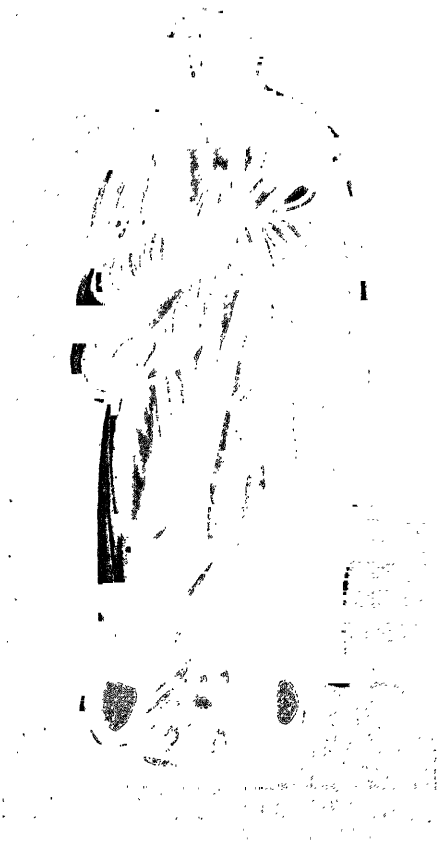


Fig. 5. JET FIGURE OF OUR LADY, FROM SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA.

an extraordinary amount of interest, and he would commend to all Fellows who read Spanish the recent work on the subject by Señor Don G. J. de Osma. The inventories showed that surprisingly large stocks were held, proving a considerable trade in objects of jet. The collections of that author and of his father-

in-law, Conde de Valencia, were to be left for the public at large in Madrid, the bequest being managed, at the speaker's suggestion, on the lines of the Soane Museum.

A paper by Professor T. ZAMMIT, C.M.G., on 'Further Excavations at the Hal-Tarxien Neolithic Cemetery, Malta', to be printed in *Archaeologia*, was taken as read.

Thanks were ordered to be returned for these communications and exhibitions.

The Ordinary Meetings of the Society were adjourned until Thursday, 22nd November.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARY COMMITTEE

FOR THE PERIOD JUNE, 1916, TO JUNE, 1917.

THE Library Committee beg to report that the number of accessions in the period under review has necessarily fallen considerably below the average of previous years. The ordinary routine of the Library has been carried out as usual. The work on the Subject Index continues to make steady progress.

The following list of accessions is arranged under subjects. A topographical list of those books which can be so catalogued is added:

ARCHITECTURE.

Choisy, A. L'art de bâtir chez les Romains.
Ferrey, B. Chronological catalogue of buildings and associated arts.
Innocent, C. F. The development of English building construction.
Fontana, Domenico: Del modo tenuto nel trasportare l'obelisco vaticano (1589).
The Twelve churches: or tracings along Watling street.

ART.

Giuseppi, M. The work of Theodore de Bry and his sons, engravers.

BELLS.

Cheetham, F. H. The Church Bells of Lancashire, part ii.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Humphreys, A. L. A handbook to county bibliography.

BIOGRAPHY.

Bone, P. J. The guitar and mandolin: biographies of celebrated players and composers.
Bushell, W. D. The Lady Margaret Beaufort and King Henry VII.
Clarke, Sir E. Gainsborough as a musician.

CASTLES, FORTIFICATIONS, ETC.

Clark, G. T. The earl, earldom, and castle of Pembroke.
Fosbrooke, T. H. A short description of the building accounts of Kirby Muxloe castle, Leicestershire.
Hand, C. R. Notes respecting the annals of Liverpool and the castle.
Newcome, R. An account of the castle and town of Ruthin.
Department of Ancient Monuments: Official guide to Carnarvon castle.

CERAMICS.

Adams, P. W. L. A history of the Adams family . . . and of their connexion with the development of the potteries.
Grabham, O. Yorkshire potteries, pots, and potters.
May, T. The pottery found at Silchester.

COINS AND MEDALS.

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Smith, G. Elliott. Ships as evidence of the migration of early culture.
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Pearce, E. H. The monks of Westminster.
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Fryer, A. C. Monumental effigies in Somerset.
Griffin, R. Monumental brasses in Kent: St. James' (old church) Dover, and Northfleet.
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Cranch, J. A brief inquiry concerning pen-pits near Stourhead (1820).
Nicholas, R. E. Record of a prehistoric industry in tabular flint at Bambridge and Highfield near Southampton.
Ward, J. The St. Nicholas chambered tumulus, Glamorgan.

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Harris, J. R. The origin of the cult of Aphrodite.
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May, T. The pottery found at Silchester.
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Sharpe, M. The accuracy of the domesday land measures in Middlesex, and their Roman origin.
Wyndham, M. Catalogue of the collection of Greek and Roman antiquities in the possession of Lord Leconfield.

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———— Portraits of our Stuart monarchs on their coins and medals.
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Pope, A. The walks and avenues of Dorchester.

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SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR 1916

NOTE ON THE ACCOUNTS FOR 1916

As would be expected, Subscriptions and Admissions both fell short of their 1915 totals (by £87 3*s.* 0*d.* and £58 16*s.* 0*d.* respectively = £145 19*s.* 0*d.*). Dividends show an apparent decrease; but this, due to an increased tax, will be compensated by its recovery in 1917. It will be noticed that Income-tax recovered is taken this year to Dividends, where it properly belongs, though, of course, it must always be in respect of the previous year. The decrease in income is more than counter-balanced by a lessened expenditure, with the result that the accounts show, on balance, a satisfactory surplus.

During 1914 we took up £400 of the 4½ per cent. War Loan, to which we added in 1916 £600 5 per cent. Exchequer Bonds. Besides this we also took in 1914 £100 of the loan for the Research Fund, to which £200 5 per cent. Exchequer Bonds were added in 1916. This could be done, seeing that there are for the moment no calls on the Research Fund.

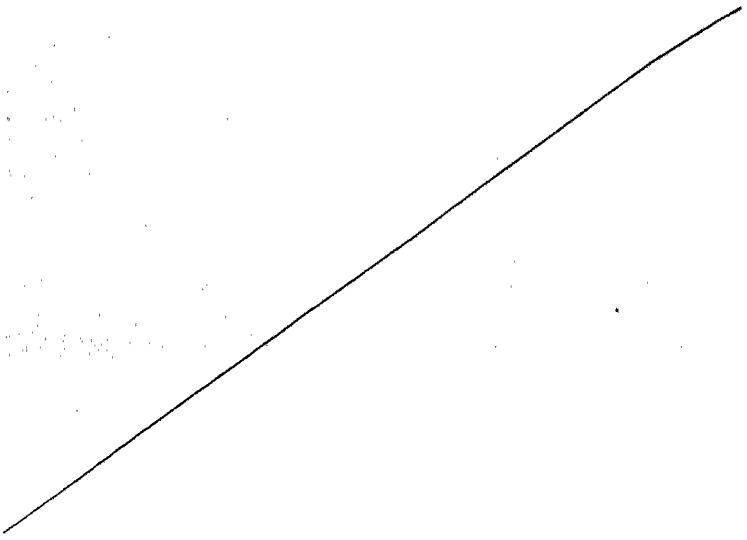
These holdings, £1,300 in all, are now in process of conversion into the new 5 per cent. Loan; and, though this will only show in the accounts for 1917, the total which the Society now holds in War Loan is £1,900. It was felt that while this was a valuable assistance to the Government, we were consolidating our resources for the future at a time when the calls on our funds were not so heavy as in normal years.

WILLIAM MINET,
Treasurer.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT

INCOME.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Subscriptions	1878	17	0			
„ unpaid	34	13	0			
				1913	10	0
Admissions	157	10	0			
Less ⅛ to Research Fund	31	10	0			
				126	0	0
Dividends	746	0	10			
Income-tax repaid	156	8	4			
Court of Chancery	108	0	6			
				1010	9	8
Sale of Publications				161	12	6
Sundry Receipts:						
Interest on deposit	31	9	9			
Sundries	19	15	6			
				51	5	3



£3262 17 5

FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31st DECEMBER, 1916.

EXPENDITURE.

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Publications		1072 15 0
Library:		
Books	49 19 9	
Binding	17 5 6	
Subject catalogue	94 2 3	
		161 7 6
Subscriptions to Societies		51 2 0
Salaries, Wages, Allowances, Pension:		
Secretary	50 0 0	
,, assistant	310 0 0	
Clerk and Librarian	287 10 0	
,, allowances	6 10 0	
Porter	141 0 0	
,, allowances	22 18 0	
Wages	148 10 0	
Pension, Sir W. Hope	250 0 0	
Income-tax and insurance on above	55 12 0	
		1272 0 0
House Expenditure:		
Licences	1 16 0	
Insurance	27 9 3	
,, aircraft	25 8 0	
Lighting	55 14 5	
Fuel	55 11 0	
Tea at Meetings	16 6 11	
House necessaries	14 17 9	
Cleaning	41 19 6	
Clock winding and repair	5 2 0	
		244 4 10
Official Expenditure:		
Printing	65 9 6	
Postage	60 15 10	
Stationery	1 19 0	
Telephone	8 0 0	
		136 4 4
Sundry Payments:		
Legacy duty and costs	15 1 6	
Sundries	36 0 11	
		51 2 5
Repair Fund		150 0 0
Balance, carried to Balance Sheet		124 1 4
		£3262 17 5

REPAIR

	£	s.	d.
Balance, 31st December, 1915	93	17	11
Appropriation from Income and Expenditure Account	150	0	0
	£243	17	11

BALANCE SHEET,

LIABILITIES.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Sundry Creditors				898	1	8
Owen Fund				55	6	8
Repairs Fund				213	15	4
Balance, 31st December, 1915	31140	8	3			
Less one Fellow amoved	6	6	0			
	31134	2	3			
Balance from Income and Expenditure Account	124	1	4			
				31258	3	7



£32425 7 8

FUND.

	£	s.	d.
Sundry repairs	30	2	7
Balance to Balance Sheet	213	15	4
	£243	17	11

31st DECEMBER, 1916.

ASSETS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Investments—General:						
Metropolitan 3 per cent.[1]	11060	5	2			
Metropolitan Water Board 3 per cent. "B" Stock (at Cost)	1000	0	0			
War Loan 4½ per cent. (at Cost)	397	17	3			
Exchequer Bonds, 5 per cent., 1920 (at Cost)	600	0	0			
Ditto—Stevenson Bequest:						
Bank Stock[1]	7162	6	4			
Great Northern 4 per cent. Perpetual Preference[1]	3692	7	6			
London and North Western 4 per cent. Guaranteed[1]	3763	6	1			
North Eastern 4 per cent. Guaranteed[1]	3741	3	1			
Midland 2½ per cent. Consolidated Perpetual Preference[1]	494	11	3			
				31911	16	8[2]
Sundry Debtors:						
Subscriptions	34	13	0			
Publications	118	0	0			
				152	13	0
Cash:						
Deposit Account	300	0	0			
Drawing Account	56	15	4			
In hand	4	2	3			
				360	17	7
				£32425	7	8

[1] Valued at Stock Exchange prices, 31st December, 1899.

[2] The Investments which stand at £31,911 16*s.* 8*d.* as above were worth at market prices, owing to depreciation, £19,315 5*s.* 4*d.* at the end of 1916.

We have examined the above Income and Expenditure Account and Balance Sheet with the Books and Vouchers and certify them to be correct. We have satisfied ourselves as to the Certificates representing the Investments, except the Inscribed Stocks, for which we have seen Certificates from the Banks in whose books they are inscribed. The value of the Library, Antiquities, Furniture, and other property of the Society is not taken credit for in the Balance Sheet.

FRANCIS W. PIXLEY. M. S. GIUSEPPI.
JEROME BANKES. PERCIVAL D. GRIFFITHS.

20th March, 1917.

RESEARCH FUND—

RECEIPTS.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Balance in hand, 31st December, 1915	112	3	3			
Due to Old Sarum Fund	4	0	0			
Due to Wroxeter Fund	4	0	0			
				120	3	3
Dividends				118	7	3
Income Tax refunded, 1913-14				8	13	5
Donations and Subscriptions				60	5	0
,, Old Sarum Fund				4	0	0
,, Wroxeter				4	0	0
				£310	8	11

STOCKS AND INVESTMENTS,

	Amount of Stock. £	s.	d.
Metropolitan 3 per cent.	10588	19	7
Bank Stock	2128	9	6
Great Northern Railway Consolidated 4 per cent. Perpetual Preference	2725	0	0
London and North Western Railway 4 per cent. Guaranteed	2757	0	0
North Eastern Railway 4 per cent. Guaranteed	2761	0	0
Midland Railway 2½ per cent. Consolidated Perpetual Preference	592	5	10
Metropolitan Water Board 3 per cent. "B" Stock	1010	1	0
War Loan 4½ per cent.	400	0	0
Exchequer Bonds, 5 per cent., 1920	600	0	0
	£28557	15	11

OWEN FUND.

War Loan 4½ per cent.	192	6	1

RESEARCH FUND.

India 3½ per cent.	1805	13	4
J. Dickinson & Co., Ltd., 5 per cent. Preference	500	0	0
Victoria 3 per cent. Consolidated Inscribed	527	13	0
Metropolitan Water Board 3 per cent. "B" Stock	966	4	2
War Loan 4½ per cent.	100	0	0
Exchequer Bonds, 5 per cent., 1920	200	0	0
	£4099	10	6

SUMMARY OF CASH ACCOUNT.

PAYMENTS.

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Exchequer Bonds		200 0 0
Balance, 31st December, 1916	94 8 11	
,, due to Old Sarum Fund	8 0 0	
,, ,, Wroxeter Fund	8 0 0	
		110 8 11
		£810 8 11

31st DECEMBER, 1916.

	Amount of Stock. £ s. d.
In the High Court of Justice, Chancery Division. In the suit of Thornton *v.* Stevenson.	
The Stocks remaining in Court to the credit of this cause are as follows, viz.:	
Great Western Railway 5 per cent. Guaranteed	8894 0 0
Midland Railway 2½ per cent. Perpetual Preference	14992 8 5
	£23886 8 5

After paying of certain annuities, now amounting to £300 per annum, the Society is entitled to one-fourth share of the residue of the income of the above fund.

WILLIAM MINET,
Treas. S. A.

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